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Andrew Lee Adelman

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**The Role of Narcissistic Entitlement, Right-Wing Authoritarianism,  
Social Dominance Orientation, Conformity to Masculine Gender  
Norms, and Religious Orientation in the Prediction of Prejudice  
Toward Lesbians and Gay Men**

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by

**Andrew Lee Adelman, B.A.; M.A.**

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## **Dedication**

This research is dedicated to my family, friends, and mentors.

Each of you has steadfastly supported my goals and  
helped me realize this milestone in my journey.

This is your achievement as much as it is mine.

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advocated, encouraged, cheered, and prayed for me so I could achieve this degree. Thank you God for the role you played, as I called upon your strength on more than one occasion. And thank you for bestowing upon me the blessings of wonderful people on my journey.

**The Role of Narcissistic Entitlement, Right-Wing Authoritarianism,  
Social Dominance Orientation, Conformity to Masculine Gender  
Norms, and Religious Orientation in the Prediction of Prejudice  
Toward Lesbians and Gay Men**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

Supervisor: Germiné H. Awad

This study introduces narcissistic entitlement as a correlate of homonegative attitudes and behaviors and examines the relative strength of relations along with established correlates of right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), social dominance orientation (SDO), conformity with masculine norms, and intrinsic religious orientation. It also tests the role of negative attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men (ATLG) in mediating the relationship between the predictor variables and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Implications for what these findings may offer psychologists are discussed, as are ways findings may inform the political process.

Earlier studies support the link between entitlement and homonegativity (Exline, et al., 2004). Narcissism was positively related to dominance, neuroticism, social anxiety, and more aggressive/sadistic and rebellious/distrustful interpersonal styles

(Emmons, 1984). Entitled narcissists are quick to take offense (McCullough, et al., 2003), externalize blame (Campbell, et al., 2000), and derogate or attack those who provide ego-threatening feedback or social rejection (Bushman, et al., 2003; Konrath, et al., 2006). Entitlement increases the risk of the narcissist becoming prone to hostile and reactive aggression and extreme violence, even without an ego-threat (Bushman, et al., 2003; Reidy, et al., 2008).

Participants were recruited through the Department of Educational Psychology subject pool and data was collected by online survey. Given the focus on heterosexual men's attitudes toward lesbian women and gay men, participants were excluded from analysis if they identified as female, bisexual, or homosexual.

Results indicated that entitlement, RWA, and intrinsic religiosity, but not conformity to masculine norms or SDO, were related uniquely to ATLG. ATLG was also related uniquely with measures of behavior, positively to gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors, and negatively with gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors. ATLG was found to significantly mediate the links of entitlement and RWA with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Results also indicated that the indirect link of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was significant. Additionally, ATLG significantly mediated the links of entitlement with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. Such an examination advances research and practice by identifying unique correlates of homonegative attitudes and the mechanisms through which they are related to lesbian- and gay-rejecting and -affirming behaviors.

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## **Chapter One: Introduction**

### **Victimization of Sexual Minorities**

In 1998, Americans were shocked by the murder of Matthew Shepard, a 21-year old Wyoming college student brutally murdered because he was gay. This was certainly not the first hate crime committed against a member of the lesbian women, gay, bisexual, and transgender community, though it has become a watershed event in the history of the gay rights movement. In the same year that Shepard was slain, Billy Jack Gaither, a 39-year old factory working living in Alabama, was also murdered for being a gay man. These two men had little in common except that each was targeted for attack because of his sexual orientation. Unfortunately their slayings are not isolated events. The shooting death of Lawrence King, age 15, in 2008 by a classmate as a result of his sexual orientation, demonstrates that the violent effects of sexual prejudice continues to be a scourge in American society.

In September of 2010, national news media reported on a rash of high-profile suicides by sexual minority youth as a result of sexual orientation-related bullying (Chibbaro, 2010). Within the span of a few weeks, the deaths of these youth turned a national spotlight on an epidemic problem of bullying of sexual minority youth in our nation's public school system and on college campuses, an epidemic which has not abated in the intervening months. Some of these youths include Seth Walsh, age 13, Billy Lucas, age 15, Asher Brown, age 13, and Tyler Clementi, age 18 (Human Rights Campaign, 2010).

Unfortunately, the deaths of these individuals do not represent an isolated set of events. Rather, these deaths add to a developing picture regarding the social climate in which people who identify as sexual minorities are immersed. Lesbian women, gay men, and bisexual people – as well as heterosexuals perceived to be gay – routinely experience violence, discrimination, and personal rejection.

The victims may “perceive their offenders as representative of the dominant culture in society and an agent of that culture's stereotyping of the victim's culture” (Young, 1992). Although homosexuality in itself is not sufficient to compose a separate culture, it is easily understood why this attitude prevails when considering Herek's discussion of the roles religion, law and mass media play in subordinating gays and lesbian women. “Regardless of the attackers' motives, victims almost always are chosen for what they are rather than who they are. This is why anti-gay hate crimes are a form of terrorism. The attack is against the community as a whole” (Herek, 1991).

Sexual stigma, or heterosexism, has been defined as “the negative regard, inferior status, and relative powerlessness that society collectively accords to any non-heterosexual behavior, identity, relationship, or community” (Herek, 2007, pp. 906–907). Sexual stigma persists in contemporary American society. A national survey conducted in 2005 indicated that, among sexual minority respondents (i.e., gay men, lesbian women, and bisexual men and women), 49% reported having experienced verbal abuse, 21% reported having experienced violence or property crime, and 11% reported having experienced housing discrimination (Herek, 2007).

In all, 1,265 hate crimes based on sexual orientation were reported to federal law-enforcement authorities in 2007, the highest level in five years. Of all hate crimes reported in 2007, the most current year for which data has been released, the proportion committed against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals rose to 16.6 percent, also the highest level in five years. According to the FBI's Hate Crime Statistics Administration reports, gay men and lesbian women have consistently been the third most frequent target of hate violence over the past decade. These statistics are flawed due to underreporting to the FBI. Only 83% of jurisdictions participate in data reporting program with federal authorities. Part of the problem may be with the differences in how various state laws treat hate crimes. According to the Anti-Defamation League, only fourteen states required local jurisdictions to report hate crime statistics for sexual orientation at the state level. What's more, only thirty states provided any sort of penalty, either civil or criminal, for hate crimes based on sexual orientation. Interestingly, Maryland and Michigan required jurisdictions to collect hate crime statistics based on sexual orientation despite the fact that their state laws didn't provide for penalties based on sexual orientation – a situation which until recently mirrored federal law. What's more, because a substantial proportion of such crimes are never reported to police, that figure represents only the tip of an iceberg (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999). The overall result of this increase in hate crimes based on sexual orientation is heightened fear and insecurity among LGBT individuals.

The victimization of gay men and lesbian women based upon their sexual orientation includes harassment, vandalism, robbery, assault, rape and murder. The

location of these crimes is not restricted to dark streets leading from gay establishments. Violence against gay men and lesbian women occurs everywhere: in schools, the workplace, public places and in the home. Those who commit these acts come from all social/economic backgrounds and represent different age groups (Bradley & Berrill, 1986). This begs the question, what aspects of a person's identity can accurately predict if they are prone to commit these acts of violence against lesbian women and gay men.

The majority of violent acts tend to be committed by younger males. Kevin Berrill reports that "the general profile of a 'gay-basher'...is a young male, often acting together with other young males, all of whom are strangers to the victim(s)" (Herek & Berrill, 1992, p.29). Gregory M. Herek provides a framework to explain the problem: "Heterosexism is defined...as an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community. Like racism, sexism, and other ideologies of oppression, heterosexism is manifested both in societal customs and institutions...." He continues by pointing out that one half of states outlaw consenting sex between adult homosexuals (Herek & Berrill, 1992, p. 89-91). Howard J. Ehrlich further expounds "...that three basic threats evoke a violent response: violations of territory or property, violations of the sacred, and violations of status... the victim's behavior or potential behavior is defined by the actor as leaving no choice but to respond with violence" (Herek & Berrill, 1992, p.108-109).

### **Politicization of Sexual Minorities**

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) issues have been increasingly politicized in the United States with regards to same-sex marriage and adoption rights, health benefits for

partners, discrimination rights within one's employment, and anti-violence laws (Rimmerman, 2001, 2008; Rimmerman, Wald, & Wilcox, 2000). For instance, during the 2004 presidential election, the issue of same-sex marriage deluged the media, subsequently leading to a congressional hearing to reexamine the Federal Defense of Marriage Act and to consider a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2004). Media coverage of LGB issues, such as the heated and politicized same-sex marriage debate, presents an opportunity for heterosexuals to consider their beliefs and attitudes toward LGBT civil rights issues and homosexual lifestyles (Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002; Worthington, Dillon, & Becker-Schutte, 2005).

Over the last three decades there has been an increasingly positive trend in attitude and acceptance toward LGB people (Herek, 2000; Sherrill & Yang, 2000; Wilcox & Wolpert, 2000; Yang, 2000). At the same time research findings indicate that there has been an increase in reported violent offences against LGB individuals (Lacayo, 1998; Skolnik, et al., 2008) who are likely to be exposed to harassment, violence, or discrimination in high schools (D'Augelli, Pinkington, & Hershberger, 2002; Kosciw, Diaz, & Greytak, 2007; Herek, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2001), university campuses (Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; D'Augelli, 1992; Herek, 1993, 2002; Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002; Rankin, 2003; Rhoades, 1994; Schwartz & Lindley, 2005; Sullivan, 1998; Waldo, 1998), and employment settings (Herek, 2009; Waldo, 1999). Researchers contend that these contradictory findings are indicative of modern-day ambivalent heterosexual attitudes towards homosexuality (Morrison & Bearden, 2007; Morrison &

Morrison, 2002; Morrison, Morrison, & Franklin, 2009; Worthington, et al., 2002, 2005). That is, in the past, homosexuality was clearly not accepted because of traditional homonegativity characterized by moral objections (e.g. beliefs that homosexuality is a sin). Even though in current times some heterosexuals still openly reject homosexuality based on moral reasons, others are ambivalent about their beliefs, feelings, and acceptance towards homosexuals' lifestyles and civil rights (Morrison & Bearden, 2007; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Morrison, et al., 2009; Worthington, et al., 2002 2005). Gay and lesbian civil rights is likely to be a controversial issue for the foreseeable future, and more empirical research is needed to identify the barriers to attaining equal rights and protections for gay and lesbian individuals (Brown & Henriquez, 2011). The results of the current study have implications for the political process playing out in state legislatures across the United States.

### **Stigmatization of Sexual Minorities**

People with lesbian, gay, and bisexual orientations have long been stigmatized. With the rise of the gay political movement in the late 1960s, however, homosexuality's condemnation as immoral, criminal, and sick came under increasing scrutiny. When the American Psychological Association dropped homosexuality as a psychiatric diagnosis in 1973, the question of why some heterosexuals harbor strongly negative attitudes toward homosexuals began to receive serious scientific consideration (Herek, 2000).

Understanding factors that shape negative attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian and gay individuals is critical for informing psychologists' scholarly and clinical work to promote individual and collective well-being (American Psychological Association,

1999) and social justice (Goodman, et al., 2004; Vera & Speight, 2003). Indeed, psychologists have called for more research on issues relevant to gay and lesbian persons (e.g., Phillips, Ingram, Smith, & Mindes, 2003). Investigating and preventing anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors are particularly important given the potential negative consequences of such attitudes and behaviors for social welfare (Diaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne, & Marin, 2001; DiPlacido, 1998), interpersonal relations (Meyer, 2003, Schope & Eliason, 2000; Waldo, 1999), and gay and lesbian persons' well-being (Franklin, 2000; Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995; Mays & Cochran, 2001; Meyer, 1995; Roderick, McCammon, Long, & Allred, 1998).

Heterosexual persons' attitudes toward sexual minority persons have been conceptualized as shaped by adherence to societal hierarchies that privilege heterosexuality (Mohr, 2002; Worthington, et al., 2005). Anti-lesbian and gay attitudes are also thought to function as tools in maintaining heterosexual social hierarchies. Consistent with such a conceptual framework, prior empirical findings (e.g., Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) have suggested that anti-gay and lesbian attitudes are associated consistently with individual differences in right-wing authoritarianism, conformity to gender norms, and religious orientation. However, relations of authoritarianism, gender norm conformity, religious orientation, and other correlates with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes have not often been examined concurrently (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). Simultaneous study of these variables can advance research and practice by identifying the strongest predictors of anti-gay and -lesbian attitudes so that resources can be used to target the best points for intervention. Also, implicit in efforts to study anti-lesbian and -

gay attitudes is that reducing such attitudes and their correlates can reduce their expression as anti-gay and -lesbian behaviors, which could be manifested as rejecting behaviors or as a lack of affirming behaviors. Limited attention has been given, however, to exploring links of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and their correlates with anti-gay and -lesbian rejecting and affirming behaviors.

This study examines concomitantly the links of authoritarianism, conformity to masculine gender norms, religious orientation, social dominance orientation, and a proposed predictor of narcissistic entitlement, with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian rejecting and affirming behaviors in heterosexual identified men. Anti-gay and lesbian attitudes will also be tested as to see whether they mediate associations of the aforementioned variables with anti-lesbian and-gay behaviors, manifested as rejecting behaviors or lack of affirming behaviors.

### **The Values of Counseling Psychology**

The APA is asking practitioners and researchers to develop greater competency through enhanced education and reflection. Yet, this kind of reflection must be undertaken with an understanding of what factors might be problematic for practitioners as they work with lesbian and gay clients. The current study provides a greater understanding of factors for psychologists to consider in their self-reflection, as well as areas to think about when considering the influence of society on their lesbian, gay, or bisexual clients.

If the field of counseling psychology purports that multiculturalism and diversity are paramount to our practice, social justice must logically follow. Counseling

psychologists have a moral and ethical responsibility to the issues and concerns raised by social injustice found both in our field and in the lives of the persons we serve and for whom we advocate (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Constantine, Hage, Kindaichi, & Bryant, 2007; Fox, 2003; Goodman, et al., 2004; Kakkad, 2005; Vera & Speight, 2003). Vera and Speight indicate that social justice is “the heart of multiculturalism in that the existence of institutional racism, sexism, and homophobia is what accounts for the inequitable experiences of people of color, women, gay, lesbian, and bisexual people (among others) in the United States” (p. 254). Along with the moral and ethical call to social justice, counseling psychology as a field has historically connected itself with sustaining the healthy development of persons. Because these persons are frequently situated in socially unjust contexts that hinder healthy development, we must address these contexts directly. This necessitates a commitment to social justice on behalf of our field.

Within this social justice framework, an area of considerable significance is the systematic oppression of sexual minority individuals. As discussed, sexual minority oppression, dichotomized with the purported “normalcy” and superiority of heterosexual privilege (Rich, 1981), is ubiquitous in the dominant culture of the United States. LGB people experience various direct effects due to this systematic oppression. They are refused protection in their relationships, including marriage rights. They are denied safety in their communities due to acts of homonegative violence. In childhood and adolescence they lack safe and supportive educational environments in which to develop. They are refused acknowledgement and inclusion in the majority of their religious

institutions. They lack the protections to raise children without scrutiny and/or threat of legal interference in their homes. As a result of these and many other expressions of oppression, the lives of LGB individuals are subject to heightened levels of minority stress and subsequent mental health concerns (Meyer, 2003).

The responsibility of changing institutional homonegativity belongs to those who hold disproportionate power over sexual minorities and have a moral obligation to protest and dismantle this form of oppression. Understanding the developmental and motivational qualities that propel a heterosexually-identified individual to hold attitudes or exhibit behavior that marginalize, stigmatize, or victimize LGB people.

Social justice also occurs in the therapeutic alliance as well. The American Psychological Association asks practitioners and researchers to develop greater competency through enhanced education and reflection (American Psychological Association, 2000). Yet, this kind of reflection must be undertaken with an understanding of what factors might be problematic for practitioners as they work with lesbian and gay clients. The current study provides a greater understanding of factors for psychologists to consider in their self-reflection, as well as areas to think about when considering the influence of society on their lesbian, gay, or bisexual clients.

## Chapter Two: Integrative Analysis

### The History of the Psychology of Prejudice

No citation is necessary to conclude that human history has been plagued by intergroup prejudice and conflict. What is surprising is how little—at least before the nineteenth century—historians, philosophers, and scientists observed how, or even why, the human race is inclined to develop and maintain prejudice, which often results in perpetual intergroup hostilities (Webster, Saucier, & Harris, 2010). Some psychologists and sociologists, both past and present, have suggested that because intergroup prejudice and conflict seemed such a natural part of human events, it did not garner the attention of scholars (e.g., Duckitt, 1992).

Throughout the past century, research on prejudice has closely reflected ideological trends, telling us as much about the personal biases of the scientific community as about prejudice itself. According to John Duckitt (1992), psychological research on prejudice first emerged in the 1920s and was based upon American and European race theories that attempted to prove White superiority. For instance, after reviewing 73 studies on race and intelligence, an influential 1925 *Psychological Bulletin* article concluded that the "studies taken all together seem to indicate the mental superiority of the white race" (Garth, 1925, p. 359). In light of medical, anthropological, and psychological studies purporting to demonstrate the superiority of White people, many social scientists viewed prejudice as a natural response to "backward" races.

This perspective changed in the 1930s and 1940s with progress in civil rights, successful challenges to colonialism, and growing concern about anti-Semitism.

Following the Holocaust, several influential theorists came to regard prejudice as pathological, and they searched for personality syndromes associated with racism, anti-Semitism, and other forms of prejudice. The most prominent of these theorists was Theodor Adorno, who had fled Nazi Germany and concluded that the key to prejudice lay in what he called an "authoritarian personality." In his book *The Authoritarian Personality*, Adorno and his coauthors (1950) described authoritarians as rigid thinkers who obeyed authority, saw the world as black and white, and enforced strict adherence to social rules and hierarchies. They argued that authoritarian people were more likely than others to harbor prejudices against perceived low-status groups.

Later researchers criticized Adorno's work, contending that authoritarianism had not been measured properly, that it did not account for cultural and regional differences in prejudice, and that the theory's psychoanalytic assumptions lacked research support (Altemeyer, 1981; Martin, 2001). Yet despite the merit of these criticisms, Adorno and his colleagues were right in at least three respects. First, *right-wing authoritarianism* does correlate with prejudice, which will be discussed in greater detail later. Second, people who view the social world hierarchically are more likely than others to hold prejudices toward low-status groups. This is especially true of people who want their own group to dominate and be superior to other groups – a characteristic known we now know as *social dominance orientation* (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Social dominance orientation tends to correlate with prejudice even more strongly than does right-wing authoritarianism, and studies have linked it to anti-Black and anti-Arab prejudice, sexism, nationalism, opposition to gay rights, and other attitudes concerning

social hierarchies (Altemeyer, 1998; Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Finally, Adorno and his coauthors explained that rigid categorical thinking is a central ingredient in prejudice.

The relationship between prejudice and categorical thinking was first systematically explored by Gordon Allport (1954) in his classic book *The Nature of Prejudice*. Allport's seminal book is generally considered the preeminent tome on prejudice research (Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005) because it synthesized all prejudice research to date and remarkably laid much of the groundwork for contemporary prejudice research. Indeed, *The Nature of Prejudice* was a product long in the making; even in his early career (c. 1930s), Allport was a "rebel" in academia for progressively challenging the orthodox views of his time and advocating a closer examination of social ethics and the rights of individuals in American democracy via the development of personality psychology (Nicholson, 1998, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998). Allport linked prejudice and categorical thinking and claimed that prejudice is in part a normal process for humans. In a much-quoted passage of the book, Allport wrote that:

The human mind must think with the aid of categories... Once formed, categories are the basis for normal prejudgment. We cannot possibly avoid this process. Orderly living depends upon it. (p. 20)

An intriguing and important consequence of categorical thinking is its tendency to distort perceptions. Typically, these distortions take the form of minimizing differences within categories ("assimilation") and exaggerating differences between categories ("contrast"). With respect to prejudice, the implication of this research is that differences

within groups will tend to be minimized and differences between groups will tend to be exaggerated. Moreover, if these differences are consistent with well-known stereotypes, the distortion in perception may be highly resistant to change (Plouse, 2000)

Closely related to assimilation is the "out-group homogeneity effect." In the language of social psychology, an "in-group" is a group to which someone belongs, and an "out-group" is a group to which the person does not belong (hence, one person's in-group may be another person's out-group, and vice versa). Research on the out-group homogeneity effect has found that when it comes to attitudes, values, personality traits, and other characteristics, people tend to see out-group members as more alike than in-group members. As a result, out-group members are at risk of being seen as interchangeable or expendable, and they are more likely to be stereotyped. This perception of sameness holds true regardless of whether the out-group is another race, religion, nationality, college major, or other naturally occurring group (Linville, 1998).

In the 1970s, research began to show that much of prejudice is based not on negative feelings towards other groups but favoritism towards one's own groups. According to Marilyn Brewer (1999, p. 438), prejudice "may develop not because out-groups are hated, but because positive emotions such as admiration, sympathy, and trust are reserved for the in-group." The tendency of people to favor their own group, known as "in-group bias," has been found in cultures around the world (Aberson, Healy, & Romero, 2000; Brewer, 1979, 1999).

Later, Thomas Pettigrew (1979) described the ultimate attribution error and its role in prejudice. The ultimate attribution error occurs when in-group members "(1)

attribute negative out-group behavior to dispositional causes (more than they would for identical in-group behavior), and (2) attribute positive out-group behavior to one or more of the following causes: (a) a fluke or exceptional case, (b) luck or special advantage, (c) high motivation and effort, and (d) situational factors.” Social psychologist Henri Tajfel (1982) and colleagues found that in-group favoritism can occur even in groups with no prior social meaning. In the minimal group experiments it was found that when voluntary study participants were assigned into groups based on something trivial such as a coin toss those participants exhibited in-group favoritism, giving preferential treatment to in-group members.

Psychological researchers have increasingly turned their attention from blatant forms of prejudice to more subtle manifestations (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Page, 1997). This shift in focus does not imply that traditional displays of prejudice have disappeared, but rather, that contemporary forms of prejudice are often difficult to detect and may even be unknown to the prejudice holders.

### **The Lexicon of Sexual Prejudice**

One form of injustice that continues to be documented in society is anti-gay and -lesbian prejudice. As research has been conducted over the last three decades a number of terms have been used to describe this prejudice against those who identify as something other than heterosexual. While the terms used to describe this form of prejudice and discrimination have evolved over time, the conceptualizations have been very similar.

Heterosexual psychologist George Weinberg coined the term *homophobia* in the late 1960's, and the word first appeared in print in 1969. Around the same time, *heterosexism* began to be used as a term analogous to sexism and racism, describing an ideological system that casts homosexuality as inferior to heterosexuality. Although usage of the two words has not been uniform, homophobia has typically been employed to describe individual anti-gay attitudes and behaviors, whereas heterosexism has referred to societal-level ideologies and patterns of institutionalized oppression of non-heterosexual people (Herek, 2000).

While antigay attitudes have historically been referred to as homophobia, more recent prejudice researchers have termed them either *homonegativity* (Morrison & Morrison, 2002), *hostile heterosexism* (Walls, 2008), or *sexual prejudice* (Herek, 2004). Based on ideologies that pathologize homosexuality, homonegativity has emanated from a number of sources including religious beliefs (homosexuality as immoral and sinful), cultural constructs of hegemonic masculinity (homosexuality as weak and submissive), and natural law (homosexuality as unnatural) (Seeiman & Walls, 2010).

Modern heterosexism is usually not overtly pathologizing, yet still prejudicial toward gay or lesbian individuals. The construct has emerged out of modern prejudice theory that asserts that the expression of prejudicial attitudes toward historically marginalized groups changes based on history and social context. For example, in the United States, overt expressions of prejudice that were more prevalent in the recent past have decreased (Jones, 1999; Seeiman & Walls, 2010) and been replaced by forms of prejudice that are more subtle and covert (Swim, Aiken, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Walls,

2008). Rather than proclaiming that homosexuality is perverse or sinful, as might be done with homonegativity, modern heterosexists might deploy suggestions that lesbian and gay individuals are too militant (aversive heterosexism). They might argue that discrimination against the lesbian and gay community is a thing of the past (amnesic heterosexism), or that although they have nothing against gay and lesbian people, they would not want their son to be gay because it would make his life more difficult (paternalistic heterosexism) (Seeiman & Wails, 2010). Heterosexism should not be confused with *heteronormativity*, which is a term for a set of lifestyle norms which hold that people fall into distinct and complementary genders (male and female) with natural roles in life. It also holds that heterosexuality is the normal sexual orientation, and states that sexual and marital relations are most (or only) fitting between a man and a woman. Consequently, a heteronormative view is one that promotes alignment of biological sex, gender identity, and gender roles.

Herek (2004) suggested that the term *sexual prejudice* be used to represent negative attitudes based on sexual orientation. He posited that using the term *sexual prejudice* would enhance study of anti-gay attitudes because it does not fall prey to some of the disadvantages of using the term *homophobia* and links hostility based on sexual orientation to research on other forms of prejudice. *Sexual prejudice*, as a construct that encompasses and expands on that of homophobia, has been defined as “negative attitudes toward (a) homosexual behavior, (b) people with a homosexual or bisexual orientation, and (c) communities of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people” (Herek, 2000, p. 19). *Prejudice* is defined as an attitude based on judgment or evaluation directed at a specific

social group or its members and involving negativity, hostility, or dislike (Herek, 2004). *Sexual prejudice* is distinguishable from racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices based in part on the relatively hidden nature of sexual orientation (e.g., social disclosure of such may be self-regulated) and because, relative to other prejudices, sexual prejudice may not generally be regarded as undesirable or inappropriate in U.S. society (Herek, 2007; Herek & Capitanio, 1996). Consistent with the notion that sexual prejudice overlaps with but is unique from generalized prejudice, Ficarrotto (1990) demonstrated that generalized prejudice and affective dimensions each contribute independent variance to the homophobic personality. Furthermore, the term *sexual prejudice* does not involve the implied value of irrationality or fear encompassed in the term *homophobia* (Miller, Wagner, & Hunt, 2012). Herek (2004) believed that the concept of sexual prejudice should replace the use of the terms *homophobia* and *heterosexism*. Homophobia is not an accurate description and heterosexism focuses so much on the societal level that it leaves out individual attitudes. Unlike the aforementioned terms, *sexual prejudice* is able to integrate micro-, meso-, and macro-level attitudes. Nevertheless, *sexual prejudice* refers to attitudes rather than behaviors; therefore, it fails to account for the outcomes that may result from the attitudes.

As stated previously, over the last three decades researchers have used a number of terms to describe prejudice against those who identify as something other than heterosexual. While there has been diversity in the terminology used, the conceptualization of this form of prejudice has been consistent. As the terms

*homonegativity* and *sexual prejudice* are the most contemporary terms used in research, they are the terms of choice for the current study.

### **Systemic Homonegativity, Sexual Prejudice, and Privilege**

In the United States and elsewhere, heterosexuals are a powerful, oppressive majority group. As a result of this hegemony, society is saturated with images, role models, and stereotypes that negatively portray same-sex relationships and lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) individuals and may even implicitly sanction anti-gay violence. Homonegativity, harassment, and violence are pervasive throughout every level of society (Berrill, 1990; Franklin, 1998; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). In a survey conducted by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), widespread anti-gay violence was reported on university campuses nationwide (as cited in Worthington, et al, 2002). According to Franklin (1998), harassment and hate crimes against LGB students by their peers is so commonplace that nearly 25% of community college students in her sample admitted to harassing people they thought were LGB. Eighteen percent of men in the sample admitted to threats and physical assault, and 32% admitted to verbal harassment.

Homonegativity is so pervasive at both macro and micro levels of the social ecology that it undoubtedly has an impact on the sexual identity development of both males and females (Worthington et al., 2002). For example, a great deal of male gender role socialization is founded on the injunction against same-sex attraction (Fassinger, 2000), and females tend to be forced into subordinate social positions with respect to males such as to mandate “compulsory heterosexuality” (Rich, 1981).

According to Blumenfeld (1992), homonegativity has a number of influences on development that may not be readily apparent, including but not limited to (a) inhibiting one's abilities to form close, intimate relationships with members of one's own gender, (b) adding to the pressure to marry, (c) causing premature sexual involvement to prove to oneself and others that she or he is "normal," resulting in (d) increasing the chances of teen pregnancy and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, and (e) reducing the complete transmission of knowledge and information through school-based sex education. In addition, people who are perceived as LGB but who are in actuality heterosexual, are sometimes also the targets of homonegativity and violence (Blumenfeld, 1992). Finally, an equally important aspect of the pervasiveness of homonegativity is that heterosexuality has become defined most critically by what it is not (e.g., lesbian, gay, or bisexual), rather than by what it is, resulting in the relative absence of a true sense of sexual identity for many, if not most heterosexually identified individuals (Worthington et al., 2002). All of these outcomes, as well as others, can be hypothesized to have an impact on the development of sexual prejudice, thus making the study of these attitudes and behaviors all the more imperative.

### **Attitudes and Behaviors Toward Lesbian Women and Gay Men**

A reason for studying anti-lesbian and gay attitudes is that understanding such attitudes and their predictors can inform efforts to reduce their expression as anti-gay and lesbian behaviors (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). However, despite evidence of the prevalence and negative consequences of anti-lesbian and gay behaviors, such as poor mental health and life satisfaction for targets (Berrill, 1990; Diaz et al., 2001; Mays &

Cochran, 2001), and despite numerous calls for greater understanding of anti-gay and lesbian behaviors (e.g., Herek, 2000; Whitley, 2001), limited attention has been given to anti-lesbian and gay behaviors, with prior research focusing mostly on anti-lesbian and gay attitudes. The limited research available suggests that hate crimes and anti-lesbian and gay behaviors are influenced by complex situational factors, such as peer dynamics and thrill-seeking motivation (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). But this same research also demonstrates that anti-gay and lesbian attitudes are linked with anti-lesbian and gay behaviors (Franklin, 1998). Specifically, researchers employed structural equation models and path modeling, and found correlations of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes with reported anti-lesbian and gay behaviors have ranged from .25 to .40 (Franklin, 2000; Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Patel, Long, McCammon, & Wuensch, 1995; Whitley, 2001). Also, results from a national random sample of adults indicated that cities with populations that reported high endorsement of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes also had high numbers of reported sexual orientation-based hate crimes (Alden & Parker, 2005).

A recent meta-analysis of 1,001 attitude-behavior link effect sizes (Wallace, Paulson, Lord, & Bond, 2005) provides a context for interpreting the amount of variance accounted for in anti-gay and lesbian behaviors. Specifically, Wallace et al. found that the average attitude-behavior correlation in psychological research was .41 (95% CI:  $r = .407-.413$ ). This average was slightly higher when the attitude was a reaction to a behavior ( $r = .42$ ) than when it was about a group, individual, issue, or other target ( $r = .39$ ). What's more, the average was even higher when it was with self-reported behaviors ( $r = .42$ ) rather than observed behaviors ( $r = .36$ ). Squaring these correlations to reflect

the amount of variance accounted for results in values of 13% to 18% of variance in behaviors accounted for by variables related to attitude. More recently, Goodman and Moradi (2008), examining a similar anti-lesbian and gay attitude-behavior correlation, found squared multiple correlations, or amounts of variance of variables accounting for 42% in reported lesbian- and gay-rejecting behavior, exceeding the pattern of effect sizes Wallace et al. observed in their meta-analysis for single attitudinal predictors. These more recent results provide promising groundwork for programs aimed at reducing anti-lesbian and gay behaviors, suggesting that interventions targeted at ameliorating anti-lesbian and –gay attitudes may, in turn, reduce the incidence of gay- and lesbian-rejecting behavior, such as hate crimes and more subtle forms of sexually prejudicial behavior.

An additional consideration is that the limited research on reported anti-gay and lesbian behaviors has focused on the presence of hostile or rejecting behaviors rather than the absence of affirming behaviors. Compared to engaging in overtly hostile acts, failing to engage in affirming behaviors may be a more subtle and perhaps more common manifestation of anti-lesbian and gay behaviors (Goodman & Moradi, 2008).

Furthermore, the aim of intervention and prevention efforts often is to reduce gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors and also to promote lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. Thus, attending to the presence of rejecting behaviors as well as the absence of affirming behaviors can advance understanding of anti-gay and lesbian behaviors. Indeed, persons with lower anti-lesbian and gay attitudes have been found to report greater gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors (Matthews, Selvidge, & Fisher, 2005; Schope & Eliason, 2000), although at least one study found no link between anti-lesbian and gay attitudes

and affirming behaviors (Bieschke & Matthews, 1996). Furthermore, it is not clear whether predictors of anti-gay and -lesbian attitudes are linked with reported lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors through the mediating role of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes. For example, there is an established relationship between right-wing authoritarianism and anti-lesbian and -gay attitudes, as well as a strong link between gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors and authoritarianism (e.g. Altemeyer, 1998; Whitley & Lee, 2000). However, there is little research examining the potential mediating role of anti-gay and -lesbian attitudes on variables, like authoritarianism, despite the fact that the correlation between lesbian- and gay-rejecting attitudes and behaviors is stronger than .40 (Wallace et al., 2005).

Thus, research is needed to examine direct and indirect links of authoritarianism, religious orientation, and other relevant correlates through anti-lesbian and gay attitudes with reported gay- and lesbian-affirming as well as lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Such research can inform future interventions aimed at reducing anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors. Most of these interventions have focused on providing either stereotype-disconfirming information (e.g., Bassett & Day, 2003; Guth, Lopez, Clements, & Rojas, 2001) or limited exposure to lesbian and gay persons through panels, videos, and other methods (e.g., Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Nelson & Krieger, 1997). Also, prior intervention studies have not taken into account important individual difference correlates of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, such as authoritarianism and religious orientation. Thus, identifying the most robust predictors of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes can point to additional targets for intervention.

### **Predictors of attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian women and gay men.**

Established correlates of sexual prejudice include numerous demographic, personal-history, attitudinal, and ideological variables. Some of the most commonly or recently cited include male gender (Cullen, Wright, & Alessandri, 2002; Herek, 1988, 2007; Herek & Capitano, 1996; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Lingiardi, Falanga, & D'Augelli, 2005; Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, & Snyder, 2006); infrequent personal contact with homosexual persons (Cullen et al., 2002; Herek, 1988, 2007; Herek & Capitano, 1996; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008); conservative sexual attitudes, gender-role adherence, masculine ideology (Ficarrotto, 1990; Olatunji, 2008; Parrott, Adams, & Zeichner, 2002; Patel, Long, McCammon, & Wuensch, 1995; Ratcliff et al., 2006; Sinn, 1997; Whitley & Egisdóttir, 2000); conservative religious orientation (Herek & Capitano, 1996; Johnson, Brems, & Alford-Keating, 1997; Rosik, Griffith, & Cruz, 2007); conservative political orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation (Altemeyer, 1996; Haddock & Zanna, 1998; Haidt & Hersh, 2001; Whitley & Egisdóttir, 2000; Wylie & Forest, 1992).

Lesbian- and gay-rejecting attitudes and behaviors have been posited to reflect unexamined commitment to compulsory heterosexuality, whereas gay- and lesbian-affirming attitudes and behaviors have been hypothesized to reflect actively explored and integrated heterosexual identity (Mohr, 2002; Worthington et al., 2002). So it follows that efforts to reduce lesbian- and gay-rejecting attitudes and behaviors, and increase affirming behaviors, may need to focus on factors such as authoritarianism or a dominance orientation, which have been proven to correlate with compulsory

heterosexuality. To this end, an important objective for developing the research evidence is to identify unique predictors of gay- and lesbian-rejecting attitudes and behaviors. As stated previously, some of these predictors, such as authoritarianism, religious orientation, conformity to traditional masculine gender norms, and social dominance orientation, have been well established in the literature. But, a significant area for building on the research is to identify new correlates, such as narcissistic entitlement.

While there are demonstrated links between anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors, some of the major predictors of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes are also related to anti-lesbian and gay behaviors. Specifically, consistent with prior research (e.g., Altemeyer, 1981, 1998, 2001; Basow & Johnson, 2000; Pratto, et al., 1994; Whitley & Lee, 2000), authoritarianism and social dominance orientation both have consistently demonstrated strong positive correlations with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes. Similar to its links with anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, authoritarianism and social dominance have been linked with anti-lesbian and gay behaviors. For example, Haddock, Zanna, and Esses (1993) found that for college students, both authoritarianism and social dominance were related to support of increased budget cuts to a gay and lesbian student organization.

Additionally, a negative link also exists between both authoritarianism and social dominance orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Altemeyer (1994) noted that reducing prejudicial attitudes among individuals with high levels of authoritarianism can be challenging because such individuals may be prone to defensiveness when confronted with value incongruent information. Thus, presenting

interventions in a manner that attends to characteristics of authoritarianism and social dominance orientation are particularly important.

Conformity to traditional gender attitudes and norms is also a well established predictor. Consistent with prior research (e.g., Basow & Johnson, 2000; Herek, 1988; Whitley & Egisdóttir, 2000), conformity to traditional gender attitudes also positively correlated with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes. And much like the relationship between authoritarianism and anti-gay and lesbian behaviors, conformity to traditional gender norms has been linked with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors (Goodman & Moradi, 2008).

As with authoritarianism and conformity to gender norms, religious orientation is a well-established predictor. Sherry, Adelman, Wilde, and Quick (2010) reference Protestant, Judaic, Islamic and Catholic doctrines which regard homosexuality as aberrant and view the expression of same-gender attraction as sinful or immoral. Herek (1987) and Kirkpatrick (1993) found that religious orientation was associated with negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women, and was related positively with a range of self-reported anti-lesbian and gay behaviors (Wilkinson, 2004). Thus, similar to their links with anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, authoritarianism and religious orientation each have been linked with anti-lesbian and gay behaviors.

Given parallel links of some predictors of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes (e.g., authoritarianism, traditional gender attitudes, religious orientation) with anti-lesbian and gay behaviors, it is important to explore whether these predictors are linked with anti-gay and lesbian behaviors directly or through the mediating role of anti-lesbian and gay

attitudes. Evaluating direct and mediated relations through anti-gay and lesbian attitudes can elucidate how general attitudinal variables, such as authoritarianism and religious orientation, are translated into anti-lesbian and gay behaviors. Such data can identify the most promising points for interventions aimed at reducing these particular behaviors. Specifically, if anti-gay and lesbian attitudes intervene in relations between authoritarianism, dominance orientation, conformity to gender norms, religious orientation, and entitlement with anti-lesbian and gay behaviors, then targeting limited resources toward reducing anti-gay and lesbian attitudes might be pragmatic. However, if predictors of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes are linked directly with anti-gay and lesbian behaviors and attitudes are not a strong mediator, then it may be more prudent to affect changes in the predictor factors themselves, as more practical targets in interventions to reduce anti-lesbian and gay behaviors (Goodman & Moradi, 2008).

### **Right-Wing Authoritarianism**

An *authoritarian* personality dimension was originally described by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950). They viewed this construct, which they measured by means of their *F* scale, as a major determinant of generalized prejudice in individuals. In support of this, they obtained consistently powerful positive correlations between the *F* scale and their measures of generalized prejudice and ethnocentrism. Altemeyer (1981) further expanded the concept and developed right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), based on social learning theory, in order to address a number of limitations in the psychodynamic conception of authoritarianism, such as inadequate conceptual clarity, falsifiability, and problems in operationalization. Altemeyer (1981,

1988, 1996) conceptualized authoritarianism as characterized by three domains (a) authoritarian submission, or a high degree of submission to “established and legitimate” authorities, such as parents, religious leaders, law enforcement, government, or military officials (Altemeyer, 1981); (b) authoritarian aggression, or a tendency to cause psychological, physical, or financial harm against out-groups or unconventional people (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009); and (c) conventionalism, or the adherence to traditional social conventions perceived to be endorsed by society and its authorities.

Authoritarians endorse obedience as a virtue; however, it is less certain that they reliably exhibit it. Early research with the F scale measuring RWA found that high scorers were no less likely than low scorers to attack high-status targets or authority figures (see Altemeyer’s review, 1981). Moreover, some right-wing authoritarians – for instance, KKK members and anti-abortion terrorists – vehemently oppose the prevailing authorities (see Duckitt, 1989; Greenberg & Jonas, 2003). Even among Canadian university students, Altemeyer’s experiments (1996) reliably uncovered a contingent of individuals who, despite their high RWA scores, favored a violent attack on the Establishment by a well-organized antigovernment movement.

Altemeyer sought to resolve the paradox of antiauthoritarian authoritarians with the qualifier that “some extremists may reject normal authorities who (seems to) have betrayed the real, fundamental, established authority; for example ... God’s will, or the Constitution” (1996, p. 9, italics in original). Seeing the need to prove that RWA involved submission to authority in general, Altemeyer (1996) conducted several validation studies.

Authoritarian submission must be viewed not just as a behavioral tendency to submit to authority but as an ideology about the appropriate role of authority.

Authoritarians support the idea that authorities should command obedience and respect; however, their behavior depends largely on whether the authorities in question are seen as legitimate. Legitimacy is conferred on authorities who uphold the appropriate norms (conventionalism) and repudiate out-group members and deviates (authoritarian aggression). The point is not that submission to authority is unrelated to authoritarianism, but that it is theoretically subordinate to the other two clusters (Kreindler, 2005).

#### **Authoritarian aggression.**

Altemeyer (1988) set out to discover variables that mediated the relationship between RWA and authoritarian aggression, operationalized either as racial prejudice, homophobia, willingness to aid the government in persecuting radicals, or recommendation of harsh sentences for criminals. To do so, he computed partial correlations between RWA and the measure of hostility, controlling in turn for each of the hypothesized mediators. These tests were meant to determine which variables, when controlled, would appreciably reduce the correlation between RWA and authoritarian aggression. Only two of the variables appeared to have substantial explanatory power: fear and self-righteousness. The first variable, fear, was measured by Altemeyer's (1988) Dangerous World Scale (DWS), which gauges fear of evil individuals and social disintegration; for example, "It seems that every year there are fewer and fewer truly respectable people, and more and more persons with no morals at all who threaten

everyone else” (p. 168). Altemeyer (1988) surmised that fear mediated the RWA-aggression relationship by creating a propensity to emit “flight and fight” responses (p. 184).

The second variable concerned the degree to which participants impugned the goodness and morality of a hypothetical student with very low RWA-scale scores. Altemeyer (1988) labeled this tendency “self-righteousness” and suggested that its role was to disinhibit the aggressive impulses that were sparked by perpetual panic: “Social and rational inhibitions against hurting another person can be overpowered by feelings of moral superiority” (p. 184).

However, if one holds this belief, it is perfectly rational to condemn those whom one sees as contributing to the breakdown of social or moral order, or indeed to call on the authorities to suppress them (Kreindler, 2005). Rather than being an automatic response to fear, then, authoritarian aggression may follow logically from the belief that certain offenders are to be feared. In support of this reinterpretation, archival research (Doty, Peterson, & Winter, 1991) has suggested that different societal threats affect different aspects of authoritarianism. Doty et al. compared American authoritarianism during a high-threat period (1978–1982) and a subsequent period in which many political and economic threats receded but crime remained high (1983–1987). Most indexes of authoritarianism showed a decrease from the former to latter period, but punitiveness toward criminals did not.

In a preliminary study, Altemeyer (1988) asked students to evaluate the personal characteristics of targets with different sets of RWA-scale responses. High RWAs tended

to consider the High RWA target relatively moral and the Low RWA target relatively immoral, whereas Low RWAs gave both targets average ratings. Altemeyer concluded that High RWAs were more self-righteous than Lows. However, a more straightforward interpretation of the results might be that High RWAs believed RWA-scale responses to carry some information about the goodness of the respondent, whereas Low RWAs did not (Kreindler, 2005). This discrepancy may be attributable to differences in the perceived relevance of scale items to morality: The RWA scale touches on many issues (e.g., premarital sex, pornography, abortion) that Highs would be likely to see as moral issues; Lows, as issues of personal choice.

Authoritarians' tendency to censure non-authoritarians may not so much indicate the belief that they personally are moral as the belief that authoritarianism is moral. This clarification may be the key to understanding the true connection between moralism and authoritarian aggression. If one believes that endorsement of RWA items is a reflection of moral virtue, then acting out one's intolerance becomes a moral imperative (Kreindler, 2005). Authoritarian aggression is not so much disinhibited by "feelings of moral superiority" as incited by the conviction that it is honorable and just to attack particular targets.

By speaking of irrational factors that stimulate or disinhibit aggression, Altemeyer gave the impression of having discovered the psychological process that underlies authoritarian behavior. However, it might be suggested that fear and moralism reflect distinct but complementary rationales for authoritarian aggression. People who value

social conventions and authorities may attack those who do not when they perceive that to do so is (a) necessary as self-defense or (b) a moral act in its own right.

### **Right-wing authoritarianism and prejudice.**

As discussed previously, right-wing authoritarianism has been linked to ideological attitudes that express the threat driven motivational goal of maintaining and establishing group and societal order, cohesion, and security (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007). These ideological attitudes lead people high in authoritarianism to express prejudice against members of out-groups, especially members of out-groups that they perceive as “violating the traditional values they hold dear” (Haddock et al., 1993). Although the definition and measurements of authoritarianism have evolved during the 60 years since the construct was first proposed, RWA has consistently been associated with prejudice, discrimination, and hostility against members of out-groups in general (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1998; Rowatt, LaBouff, Johnson, Froese, & Tsang, 2009; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Whitley & Lee, 2000), as well as sexism (Christopher & Wojda, 2008), ethnocentrism (Altemeyer, 1996), anti-Arab racism (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009; Rowatt, Franklin, & Cotton, 2005), and prejudice and discrimination toward homosexuals (Tsang & Rowatt, 2007).

Thus, people with high levels of authoritarianism are likely to exhibit anti-lesbian and gay attitudes because gay and lesbian persons (a) are explicitly condemned by some religious, governmental, and social leaders; (b) represent a socially stigmatized out-group relative to heterosexual women and men; and (c) are perceived as challenges to traditional social conventions. Indeed, right-wing authoritarianism has been linked with

indicators of anti-lesbian and gay prejudice, with correlations ranging from the low .40s to the high .70s (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998; Basow & Johnson, 2000; Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Lee, 2000). Goodman and Moradi (2008) found that authoritarianism emerged as an important correlate of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Furthermore, when evaluated along with other potential predictors, authoritarianism had a positive unique relationship with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, and through the mediating role of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes it had a positive indirect link with gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. Taken together, the indirect and direct relations involving authoritarianism suggest that it may be linked with greater gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors to the extent that it is also linked with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). What is more, Hunsberger (1995) found authoritarianism to be related to religious fundamentalism, and likely to mediate the established relationship between religious orientation and anti-gay and lesbian attitudes.

### **Religious Orientation**

Research has revealed a complex relationship between religion and prejudice (Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993; Tsang & Rowatt, 2007). Individuals who score higher on *intrinsic religious orientation*, for whom religion is a “master motive,” tend to self-report less prejudice against proscribed groups, or groups perceived to be illicit such as lesbian women and gay men, but more prejudice against non-proscribed groups. However, individuals who score higher on *extrinsic religious orientation* report more prejudice against proscribed groups, but not necessarily against non-proscribed groups (Allport & Ross, 1967; Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; McFarland, 1989). Extrinsic religious

orientation describes the tendency to use religion as a means to self-serving ends, such as using church attendance to gain social status or praying in a time of need. In contrast, individuals who score higher in *quest religious orientation*, and see religion as open-ended and complex (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991), tend to exhibit less prejudice toward both proscribed groups, or those groups deemed to be illicit and prohibitive, and non-proscribed groups (e.g. Batson, Eidelman, Higley, & Russell, 2001; McFarland, 1989).

### **Religious orientation and prejudice.**

Researchers have begun to explore the relationship between different religious variables and prejudice. While scholars have reported about the link between religiosity and prejudice, the exact nature of that relationship has been disputed in the literature (Allport & Ross, 1967; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Batson et al., 2001). Though it has been widely criticized, there is evidence that people with an intrinsic religious orientation were less prejudiced than those with an extrinsic religious orientation, who in turn were less prejudiced than those with an “indiscriminately pro-religious” orientation (Allport & Ross, 1967). For example, Rowatt and Franklin (2004) found that Christian orthodoxy was negatively related to racism when controlling for self-reported religious fundamentalism and social desirability. Intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest religious orientations were not related to racism when controlling for authoritarianism and social desirability. The researchers concluded that the internalization of Christian teachings is related to racial tolerance, whereas a right-wing ideology may lead to racial prejudice.

This line of research has been extended to examine Christian individuals’ prejudice toward Muslim and Middle Eastern persons (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009; Rowatt

et al., 2005). Christian participants have been found to show a preference for Christianity and Christian orthodoxy, and thus exhibit an implicit preference for Christians over Muslims. Other personality variables, such as religious fundamentalism, RWA, intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest religious orientations did not show an association with implicit attitudes toward Muslims. The researchers concluded that these effects were consistent with social identity theory: Individuals preferred the religious in-group over a religious out-group. Religion is often linked with dogmatism, ethnocentrism, and rigidity (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009). Religious individuals also have been shown to be prejudiced toward non-religious individuals (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999), ethnic minority groups (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009; Duck & Hunsberger, 1999) and homosexuals (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; Laythe, Finkel, & Kirkpatrick, 2001).

### **Religion and sexual prejudice.**

Although modern Christianity explicitly proscribes racism (Batson, Shoenrade, & Ventis 1993), it does not necessarily proscribe prejudice against gay men and lesbian women (Laythe, Finkle, Bringle, & Kirkpatrick, 2002). Research shows that religiosity is related to increased sexual prejudice. Individuals who attend religious services report more prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women, as do those who belong to more conservative religious denominations (Finlay & Walther, 2003; Fisher, Derison, Polley, Cadman, & Johnston, 1994; Herek & Capitanio, 1996). These individuals are also less likely to know someone who identifies as gay or lesbian (Herek & Capitanio, 1996).

Religious orientation is another important variable in the relationship between religiosity and sexual prejudice. Research, using both self-report and behavioral

measures of prejudice, has shown that intrinsic religious orientation is related to increased prejudice against gay men and lesbian women (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; Herek, 1987; Kirkpatrick, 1993; Wilkinson, 2004). In contrast, extrinsic religious orientation has not been found to be statistically related (Fisher et al., 1994; McFarland, 1989), and quest religious orientation negatively related to sexual prejudice (Bassett, Kirnan, Hill, & Schultz, 2005; Batson et al., 2001).

Sexual prejudice has been characterized as “non-proscribed” within many religious circles (Batson et al., 1993). Current research seems to suggest that for individuals high in intrinsic religious orientation, prejudice against gay men and lesbian women is seen as socially desirable (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999), despite the fact that social motivation is more related to an explicit religious orientation. Given previous research on religious orientation and prejudice, it is possible that the explicit sexual prejudice expressed by intrinsically religious individuals is due to the importance of these negative attitudes in mainstream, entitled religious institutions, rather than to the existence of internalized negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women. If this is the case, individuals high in intrinsic religious orientation may self-report explicit sexual prejudice for self-presentation reasons, even in the absence of internalized negative attitudes. It is also possible, however, that continued exposure to religious teachings condemning homosexuality might lead intrinsically religious individuals to form negative evaluations of homosexuality (Tsang & Rowatt, 2007).

### **The role of RWA in the relationship between religion and prejudice.**

If intrinsic religiosity is related to an internalized prejudice against gay men and lesbian women, than right wing authoritarianism is the mechanism underlying this prejudice. As previously discussed, authoritarian individuals tend to submit to established authority, support traditional values that are endorsed by those authorities, and support aggression against out-groups when that aggression is deemed acceptable by authorities (Whitley & Lee, 2000). This creates an ethnocentrism that is expressed both in prejudice toward out-groups, especially groups that violate traditional values, and a feeling of self-righteousness toward the in-group (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). RWA has been found to be positively correlated with prejudice, including religious and sexual prejudice (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; Hunsberger, 1996; Laythe, Finkel, & Kirkpatrick, 2001; Wylie & Forest, 1992).

Research suggests that RWA, in comparison to religious orientation, may be a stronger predictor of explicit sexual prejudice. One line of research has focused on the role of religious fundamentalism (RF), a style of belief characterized by a militant belief system, a sense of one absolute truth, and a sense of a special relationship with God (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Research has shown a consistent positive relationship between RF and sexual prejudice (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger 1995, 1996; Wylie & Forest 1992). People high in RWA are more likely to identify strongly with their religion and report greater support of religious fundamentalism and fewer doubts about religious doctrine than people low in RWA (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009). One explanation that has been offered for this RF-prejudice relationship is that it is a

byproduct of the effects of right-wing authoritarianism (Laythe, Finkle, Bringle, & Kirkpatrick, 2002). Several studies have shown that RWA is more strongly associated with prejudice than is religious fundamentalism, and that fundamentalism and authoritarianism are strongly correlated with each other (Altemeyer & Hunsberger 1992; Hunsberger 1996; Wylie & Forest 1992).

Cunningham, Nezelek, and Banaji (2004) found that rigid thought patterns were associated with implicit prejudice, but only through an association with right-wing ideology. The same relationship is not evident with a quest orientation, with which prejudice is predicted inversely toward religion (Batson, Shoenrade, and Ventis 1993). Duck and Hunsberger (1999) found that the relationship between both intrinsic and quest religious orientations and self-reported sexual prejudice weakened when RWA was removed. The open, questioning nature of the quest orientation in many ways appears to reflect the antithesis of an authoritarian approach to religion (Hunsberger 1995). The idea that authoritarianism is responsible for the positive association of fundamentalism and prejudice is consistent in the literature. For example, Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992) found that statistically controlling for RWA using partial correlation techniques reduced RF-prejudice correlations to nonsignificant levels, but not vice versa. Similarly, Wylie and Forest (1992) found that RWA added significantly to a multiple regression equation in predicting homophobia, while religious fundamentalism did not.

Furthermore, Tsang and Rowatt (2007) reported that RWA mediated the relationship between intrinsic religiousness and explicit sexual prejudice. Specifically, they found that RWA was related to self-reported prejudice against homosexuals and that

intrinsic religious orientation is uniquely related to automatic negative judgments against lesbian women and gay men. In contrast, extrinsic and quest religious orientations were related to more positive attitudes toward homosexuals. As a possible explanation for this finding, Tsang and Rowatt posit that quest and extrinsic orientations may not depend so much on religious doctrine and may reflect an individual's judgment that is independent of church teachings (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009).

Hence, much of the relationship between religious orientation and explicit sexual prejudice can be accounted for by RWA. It is not only the intrinsic nature of the motivation underlying some people's religion that causes sexual prejudice, but rather the authoritarian manner in which some people hold their religious beliefs. As such, the current study will focus on the intrinsic nature of religious orientation.

### **Social Dominance Orientation**

Acceptance of legitimizing myths has significant influence on the degree of inequality in societies, it is quite important to understand the factors that lead to the acceptance or rejection of ideologies that promote or attenuate inequality. Social dominance theory explains that a significant factor is an individual-difference variable called social dominance orientation (SDO), or the extent to which one desires that one's in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups. SDO is considered to be a general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical, that is, ordered along a superior-inferior dimension (Pratto, et al., 1994). The theory describes that people who are more social-dominance oriented will tend to favor hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and policies,

whereas those lower on SDO will tend to favor hierarchy-attenuating ideologies and policies. SDO is thus the central individual-difference variable that predicts a person's acceptance or rejection of numerous ideologies and policies relevant to group relations.

Another way that individuals' levels of SDO may influence their contribution to social equality or inequality is in the kinds of social roles they take on, particularly, roles that either enhance or attenuate inequality. According to social dominance theory, individuals who are social dominance oriented will favor social practices that maintain or exacerbate inequality among groups and will oppose social practices that reduce group inequality. However, the particular social policies that correlate with SDO may vary from society to society. SDO correlates with opposition to social policies that would reduce inequality between U.S. nationals and foreigners or immigrants, rich and middle class or poor, men and women, ethnic groups, heterosexuals and homosexuals, and humans versus other species (Pratto, et al., 1994).

Because the lives of people in dominating groups are so much more available than the lives of people in subordinated groups and because of group segregation, people in subordinated groups are more likely to understand the lives and positions of people in dominating groups than the other way around (Pratto, 1999). This implies that members of powerful groups also do not realize that they are privileged because they don't have the social comparison information to recognize the discrimination they do not experience (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the poverty they don't experience (e.g., Bullock, 1999), and the prejudice they do not experience (e.g., Fairchild & Rudman, 2008), but which members of subordinated groups do.

Social category norms influence who “counts” as members of society. Dominant groups (e.g., Whites, men, heterosexuals, etc.) are often conflated with the entire society (e.g., Americans; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Leach, Snider, & Iyer, 2002), whereas subordinates question whether they belong (e.g., Meyer, 2003). Further, dominants’ cultural ideologies are told as if they pertain to all. For example, the Protestant Work Ethic is used by more Americans to explain White advantage than to explain Black disadvantage (Hartmann, Gerteis, & Croll, 2009). In general, the ideologies that legitimize group dominance seem to be culturally normal, and so they organize both individual practices and institutional practices and social policy. The institutionalization of hierarchy-enhancing discrimination means that individual effort is relatively unnecessary to maintain group dominance (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). Psychologically, this makes it seem to dominant group members that no one intends group dominance to occur.

The social and psychological situation of subordinated group members is different. They know from their own experiences and those of relatives, neighbors, and friends, that they are likely to be turned down for jobs, housing, promotions, etc. (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Their own effort and experience of prejudice and discrimination make them suspicious about accepting hierarchy-enhancing ideologies to account for their lower positions. For example, women reject sexism more than men do (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996) and Blacks reject racism more than Whites do (e.g., Henry, 2008). Acceptance of ideologies like racism, sexism, and nationalism, paves the way for one’s general acceptance of social dominance orientation.

Generally, SDO motivates people to hold ideologies and discriminate in favor of maintaining or increasing group dominance (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). However, the psychological processes that serve group position are usually smoother for dominant groups than for subordinated groups. As stated previously, privileging dominants' identities more than subordinates' identities is one way in which group dominance hierarchies are maintained. For example, stereotypes often facilitate dominants' performance while debilitating subordinates' performance, so that both superior and inferior prophecies by stereotypes become fulfilled (Walton & Cohen, 2003).

More subtly, SDO can work differently among different groups, but in ways that maintain inequality overall. For example, Pratto and Hegarty (2000) showed that the kinds of male reproductive strategies that depend on and perpetuate social inequality (e.g., sexual double-standards) correlate more strongly with SDO among men than among women. In complement, the kinds of female reproductive strategies that depend on and perpetuate social inequality (e.g., marrying a high earner) correlate more strongly with SDO among women than among men (Pratto & Stewart, 2012).

As already noted, dominant identities are more privileged, but less salient, than subordinated identities. Another way group dominance is maintained is using subordinated groups as an identity contrast for dominants through denigration, negative stereotypes, and legitimizing myths about subordinated groups. Dissociating from subordinated groups can be a source of esteem for dominant groups (Houston & Andreopoulou, 2003), whereas identifying with one's group may be a source of psychological protection and self-esteem for subordinated groups (e.g., Postmes &

Branscombe, 2002). Segregated environments for out-groups offer greater exposure to others of the marginalized out-group and thereby increase the opportunities for experiencing acceptance, solidarity, and social support by members of the out-group, as offered by the church, counselors, friends, and neighbors (Postmes & Branscombe, 2002; Turner, 1991). Dissociating of the subgroup could also increase feelings of in-group acceptance simply because it decreases the physical distance between members of the in-group from the dominant social group. In that way, differential identification (i.e., identifying with one group more than other groups) may be psychologically beneficial to both dominants and subordinates, but not for the same reasons, nor with the same social consequences.

Social dominance theory argues that differential identification with in-groups versus out-groups serves to maintain group hierarchy because it would put SDO as the engine to serve dominant groups the most (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). Thus, persons with high levels of dominance orientation may have anti-lesbian and gay attitudes because gay and lesbian persons have lower perceived social status than do heterosexual individuals (Whitley & Lee, 2000). Consistent with this perspective, empirical evidence has indicated that higher dominance orientation is related to higher levels of anti-lesbian and gay prejudice, with correlations ranging from mid .30s to low .50s (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998; Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Egisdóttir, 2000); Whitley & Lee, 2000).

### **The relationship between SDO and RWA.**

In numerous investigations, RWA and SDO have accounted for a high proportion of variance in scores on measures of racist or homophobic prejudice, after which other

individual-difference measures could contribute little (Altemeyer, 1998; McFarland & Adelson, 1996, cited in Altemeyer, 1998). RWA and SDO are therefore widely accepted as the two major personality bases of prejudice, offering complementary explanations that account for different portions of the variance in ethnocentrism (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002).

A number of studies have cataloged the differences between RWA and SDO. RWA is strongly associated with cultural conservatism, SDO with economic conservatism (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002), and the two variables correlate with different values, religious opinions, and demographic variables (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002; Heaven & Connors, 2001). Finally, some studies have linked authoritarianism to high dutifulness and low openness to experience, and social dominance orientation to high Machiavellianism and low agreeableness (Altemeyer, 1998; Butler, 2000; Heaven & Bucci, 2001), which relationships might be readily deduced from the content of the RWA and SDO scales.

Duckitt et al.'s (2002) article on The Psychological Bases of Ideology and Prejudice represents the most ambitious attempt to model the RWA/SDO distinction. It proposed that authoritarianism and dominance orientation are ideological expressions of different motivational goals, which are directly influenced by particular social worldviews. Perceptions of the social world as dangerous and threatening promote a desire for social control and security, and hence RWA; whereas perceptions of the world as a competitive "jungle" promote motivations for power and dominance and, hence,

SDO. Worldviews, in turn, are thought to be influenced by both situational factors and personality traits (Kreindler, 2005).

Dangerous-world beliefs directly influence authoritarianism, whereas competitive-world beliefs directly influenced dominance orientation. The trait of social conformity (operationalized as the extent to which participants described themselves as “obedient” and “predictable” as opposed to “unconventional,” etc.) affected both dangerous-world beliefs and authoritarianism. The trait of tough-mindedness (operationalized as the extent to which participants described themselves as “harsh” and “ruthless” rather than “gentle,” etc.) had a direct effect on competitive-world beliefs and an indirect effect on SDO (Duckitt, et al., 2002).

Although authoritarianism and dominance orientation both include an element of prejudice toward out-groups, Altemeyer (1998) argued that dominance orientation “does not have the same psychological roots that previous studies have unearthed in right-wing authoritarians” (p. 61). Specifically, persons with high levels of authoritarianism accept traditional values and authorities and are likely to follow instructions of those in positions of power. By contrast, individuals with high levels of dominance orientation are not motivated by a sense of morality or duty to higher powers (Heaven & Bucci, 2001). As such, authoritarianism and dominance orientation may shape prejudicial beliefs and behaviors, such as anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, in complementary rather than redundant fashion. Indeed, authoritarianism and dominance orientation are only minimally correlated (Altemeyer, 1998; Pratto et al., 1994), and the relation of dominance orientation with prejudice against various out-groups is not accounted for by a joint

relationship with authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1998; Whitley & Lee, 2000).

The social dominance perspective differs from the authoritarianism perspective in the way in which it portrays attitudes toward homosexuality. The social dominance approach to prejudice postulates that prejudiced people believe in legitimizing myths that justify their prejudicial attitudes (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993). For example, the belief that heterosexuality is the only proper sexual orientation legitimizes prejudice and discrimination against lesbian women and gay men. The social dominance approach further postulates that these myths mediate the relationship between social dominance orientation and prejudice. Applying the social dominance perspective to attitudes toward homosexuality suggests that high social dominance orientation would lead people to endorse negative attitudes toward homosexuality (Whitley & Egisdóttir, 2000).

#### **Dual Group Processes Model in relation to RWA and SDO.**

Kreindler's Dual Group Processes (DGP) Model shows promise as a means of understanding how these variables act in relation to one another. Although most personality theorists have acknowledged the impact of societal forces on the prevalence of prejudice, they tend to treat social-structural and individual factors as independent inputs (e.g., Altemeyer, 1988; Sidanius et al., 1996). In contrast, the DGP model views individual differences in prejudice as embedded in group processes, arising from each person's unique relationship to the group structure. From this perspective, ideology is not a variable that precedes, but rather is a formalization of, an individual's group-related beliefs and identifications. The model does not deny that personal characteristics and experiences may have a distal effect on ideology by promoting specific group-related

perceptions or identification with particular groups (Duckitt & Fisher, 2003). However, it maintains that neither ideologies nor the proximal influences on ideologies should be mistaken for traits. In sum, although it is readily apparent that people differ in their expression of prejudice, the determination to explain this in terms of underlying dispositions may be an impediment to progress. Rather, researchers might turn their attention to the intergroup and intragroup processes by which prejudicial ideologies arise (Kreindler, 2005).

RWA can be explained in terms of the group process that accounts for conflict in intragroup settings, namely normative differentiation. This process, elaborated by self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and the model of subjective group dynamics (Marques, Abrams, Pàez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998), involves evaluating group members on the basis of their prototypicality regarding salient attributes. Normative differentiation contributes to a positive social identity by promoting the longevity and legitimacy of in-group norms (Kreindler, 2005). This would suggest that authoritarians would have negative attitudes against those who may be perceived as challenging in-group norms. However, these attitudes may not translate with the same frequency to behavior against out-group members, given the intragroup focus of RWA.

As distinct from Altemeyer (1988) some researchers have posited that the major feature of authoritarianism is mental rigidity, born of a desire to simplify an overwhelming world (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). This idea, first suggested by Adorno et al. (1950), has generated many attempts to prove that

authoritarians are, in effect, afraid to think (Kreidler, 2005). There is evidence that authoritarians may become mentally rigid when confronted with immediate ego threat, and also avoid information that could damage their self-concept (Altemeyer, 1996; Schultz, Stoney & Christie, 1997). Thus it seems that authoritarians are more concerned with a thought-based process of prejudice, and perhaps less likely to convert a negative attitude about an out-group representing an ego-threat, to aggressive behavior.

SDO, seems to be explicitly related to intergroup attitudes. This process, elaborated by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), involves evaluating individuals on the basis of their membership in an in-group or out-group. Category differentiation contributes to a positive social identity by establishing the in-group's superiority over other groups (Kreindler, 2005).

### **Traditional Gender Role Norms**

Like authoritarianism and religious orientation, conformity to traditional gender attitudes has been linked with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes. Gender role attitudes are "beliefs about the appropriate role for women and men" (McHugh & Frieze, 1997), and individuals who endorse traditional gender roles believe that women should follow traditional female-role norms and men should follow traditional male-role norms (Whitley, 2001). Gender role norms, or those rules and standards that guide and constrain masculine and feminine behavior, are believed to have the same properties as social norms (Mahalik, et al., 2003). In a way that is similar to how social norms influence people to engage in specific social behavior, gender role norms also operate when people observe what most men or women do in social situations, are told what is

acceptable or unacceptable behavior for men or women, and observe how popular men or women act. As a result, males and females come to learn what is expected of them when living their gendered lives (Mahalik et al., 2003).

An important distinction between sex roles and gender roles needs to be made. Specifically, sex roles are specific behaviors related to one's biology, such as reproductive functioning (Meth, 1990). Gender roles, however, are behaviors that men and women enact congruent with the socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998). Through the process of gender role socialization, males and females are believed to be ingrained with society's external standards, expectations, and norms about masculine and feminine behavior (Meth, 1990; Pleck, 1981, 1995). Thus, individuals may be male or female, but their identity as men and women is developed through a complex process of interaction with their culture in which they learn the appropriate gender scripts of their culture (Kimmel & Messner, 1989).

Gender roles for men, then, are viewed not as biological givens, but as social constructions created from the expectations of social forces such as parents, teachers, peers, and the media about what constitutes masculinity (Pleck, 1981, 1995). From an early age, boys learn what are acceptable and unacceptable masculine behaviors through reinforcement (e.g., praise for winning) and punishment (e.g., criticism for crying) (Mahalik, et al., 1998)

### **Masculine gender norms.**

Masculine norms are communicated to males when they observe that other males tend not to wear pink, and when they are told “big boys don’t cry,” and when they observe that male movie stars and sports heroes are tough and respond with violence when challenged (Mahalik et al., 2003). As a result, males come to learn what standards or expectations are associated with being masculine in U.S. society. However, after an individual male understands what society expects of him regarding masculinity, he may or may not conform to those normative messages as a function of a host of contextual and individual variables (Mahalik, 1999). Thus conformity to masculine norms is defined as meeting societal expectations for what constitutes masculinity in one’s public or private life.

Addressing these issues in his gender role norms model, Mahalik et al. (2003) described sources of gender role expectations, how these expectations are communicated, factors that affect conformity and non-conformity, the range of outcomes in response to these expectations, and the resultant effects on individuals and others of both conformity and non-conformity to gender role norms. First, Mahalik posited that sociocultural influences, particularly the influence of the most dominant group or powerful groups in a society, shape the gender role expectations and standards that constitute gender role norms. Second, the gender role norms of the powerful in a society are communicated to individuals through descriptive, injunctive, and cohesive norms. Third, group and individual factors (e.g., socioeconomic status, racial identity, and characteristics of same-sex others) filter an individual’s experience of gender role norms that are communicated

by the powerful group in society. Fourth, these group and individual factors affect the extent to which the individual conforms or does not conform, to specific gender role norms. In turn, there are costs for the individual and others for not conforming to a variety of gender role norms (Mahalik et al., 2003).

Mahalik (1999) posited that gender roles norms from the most dominant or powerful group in a society affect the experiences of persons in that group, as well as persons in all other groups. Thus, the expectations of masculinity as construed by Caucasian, middle- and upper-class Christian heterosexuals should affect members of that group and every other male in U.S. society who is held up to those standards and experiences acceptance or rejection from the majority, in part, based on adherence to the powerful group's masculinity norms (Mahalik et al., 2003).

#### **Gender role conformity and the costs of enacting masculinity.**

Conformity to masculinity norms may also negatively affect important others in a person's life, such as family members (Mahalik, 1999). A male client who conforms to a number of traditional masculine norms including emotional control, dominance, self-reliance, primacy of work, and disdain for homosexuality may be described by others as emotionally distant and interpersonally dominant in his relationships. He may describe himself as having difficulty with and being uncomfortable with attending to his, or his partner's, his children's, and his same-sex friend's emotional lives. He may be uncomfortable asking for, or giving, support and affection to his partner, children, and same-sex friends (Mahalik, Talmadge, Locke, & Scott, 2005). Instead, he may find it

easier to avoid their needs by investing himself in work and maintaining a masculine identity.

However, nonconformity to traditional gender norms may also have negative consequences for individuals. For example, research on the psychology of social norms suggests that non-conformers are more likely to experience group rejection (Cialdini & Trost, 1999), and research on gender role norms report that people are evaluated negatively when they transgress traditional gender roles, with men evaluated more negatively compared with women (Antill, 1987; McCreary, 1994; Sirin, McCreary & Mahalik, 2004). Thus, other men (and women) may react negatively to a man who is perceived as too emotional, does not have a “fire in the belly” about winning, is not considered self-reliant, refuses to take risks, is a “wimp,” or exhibits stereotypically homosexual behavior (Mahalik et al., 2005). The same negative reactions and social consequences are present with women who do not adhere to traditional feminine gender norms.

According to the gender role strain paradigm, the underlying purpose of this male socialization process is to instill in men the socially defined masculine ideals of being emotionally stoic and interpersonally dominant to avoid being or appearing feminine (Mahalik, et al., 1998). Because of this, "a man experiences any particular facet of the self that he considers feminine with great conflict and anxiety, because he believes it threatens his manhood" (Meth, 1990, p. 16). As a result of this fear of femininity, men are believed to overconform to traditional male roles as a coping strategy to avoid

femininity (Pleck, 1981, 1995) and, as a result, may develop gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982).

Gender role conflict in men occurs when "rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles, learned during socialization, result in personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or self" (O'Neil, 1990, p. 25). O'Neil theorized that traditional male role socialization leads to a fear of femininity, so that men are thought to engage in gender role conflict patterns that restrict their roles and behavior to stereotypically masculine ones to avoid being or appearing feminine (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982). This gender role conflict behavior is also believed to reflect less mature masculine identity (O'Neil & Egan, 1992).

#### **Masculine gender role conformity and sexual prejudice.**

Similar to male gender role beliefs, sexual prejudice is also culturally constructed (Franklin, 1998; Herek, 1990, 2004, 2007; Nielsen, 1990; Pharr, 1988). However, sexual prejudice emerges at the individual level via the internalization of sexual stigma during masculine identity development. Additionally, sexual prejudice functions to reinforce one's status as a heterosexual male (Herek, 2000) and to represent a specific "repudiation of femininity" (Kimmel, 1997, p. 229). Indeed, sexual prejudice is a likely by-product of masculine socialization (Shields & Harriman, 1984), especially an anti-femininity theme within the male role (Parrott, Adams, & Zeichner, 2002; Thompson, Grisanti, & Pleck, 1985).

People who hold traditional gender role attitudes may express anti-gay and lesbian attitudes because lesbian and gay persons are stereotyped as having cross-gender

traits, roles, and physical characteristics, with gay men stereotyped as more feminine and lesbian women stereotyped as more masculine than traditional gender roles prescribe (Kite & Deaux, 1987; Madon, 1997). Adherence to traditional gender attitudes has emerged as consistently and uniquely linked with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes as well as gay- and lesbian-rejecting and –affirming behaviors. Indeed, studies of attitudes about equality between women’s and men’s rights and roles have indicated that greater endorsement of traditional gender hierarchies is associated with greater anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, with correlations ranging from nearly .40 to .65 (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Herek, 1988; Whitley & Egisdóttir, 2000).

Numerous studies have demonstrated that adherence to traditional masculinity norms is positively associated with sexual prejudice (Ehrlich, 1990; Keiller, 2010; Kilianski, 2003; Parrott, et al., 2002; Patel et al., 1995; Polimeni, Hardie, & Buzwell, 2000; Sinn, 1997; Vincent, Parrott, & Peterson, 2011). In particular, studies that used Thompson and Pleck’s (1986) tripartite conceptualization found that male role norms were associated with prejudice toward sexual minorities (Kilianski, 2003; Sinn, 1997) and general hostility toward others (Sinn, 1997). Recent studies using this conceptualization indicate that adherence to the status and anti-femininity norms, but not the toughness norm, indirectly facilitate anger and aggression toward gay men and lesbian women via sexual prejudice (Parrott, 2009; Parrott, Peterson, & Bakeman, 2011; Parrott, Peterson, Vincent, & Bakeman, 2008).

Building on this prior research for the role of traditional gender attitudes in anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, Goodman and Moradi (2008) found traditional gender attitudes

were correlated positively with reported anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and lesbian-and-gay-rejecting behaviors, and negatively with reported gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors. When examined along with other predictors, conformity to gender attitudes were related uniquely and positively with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, had a significant indirect link with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors through gender conforming attitudes, and had an additional indirect link with rejecting behaviors. This pattern of results is consistent with Worthington et al.'s (2002, 2005) conceptualization that adoption of culturally prescribed norms about gender can manifest as expressions of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors.

In sum, the association between conformity to traditional masculine gender norms and sexual prejudice is well established. Among men who rigidly adhere to traditional male role norms, antipathy toward gay men and lesbian women may serve to reinforce their status as heterosexual men. Additionally, antipathy toward gay men and lesbian women may reflect an anti-feminine theme within the traditional male role (Vincent, et al., 2011). However, the effects of adhering to these specific norms on aggression toward gay men and lesbian women via both sexual prejudice and anger have yet to be examined.

### **Heterosexual Privilege**

In order to understand the connection between narcissistic entitlement and homonegativity and sexual prejudice, one must first examine the environment of heterosexual privilege in which a sense of entitlement may develop. Privilege has been defined as the principle or condition of enjoying special rights or immunities beyond the

common advantages of others (Finnegan, Heisler, Miller, & Usery, 1981). Within the psychology literature, heterosexual persons' negative attitudes toward sexual minority populations have been conceptualized to reflect societal hierarchies that privilege heterosexuality (Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000; Worthington et al., 2005). More specifically, Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, and Vernaglia (2002) proposed that an unexplored and rigid commitment to heterosexuality, the starting and ending point for most people's sexual identity development, is characterized by an unexamined adoption of compulsory heterosexuality that also involves the adoption of culturally prescribed norms about gender and sexuality. One's status as a member of a privileged, oppressive majority group is accepted without question as normal. As such, attitudes toward sexual minorities are "group depreciating" (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1995) and tend to be strongly influenced by unexamined heterosexist, homonegative societal biases. People at this level of identity development are likely to assume that non-heterosexuals do not exist in their familial and immediate social circles and believe that they do not know anybody who is lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB). As such, LGB group members are often understood only in abstract, stereotypic terms (Worthington, et al, 2002). In keeping with this perspective, Robinson and Howard-Hamilton (2000) hypothesized that dominant social discourse construes heterosexual identity as having higher status relative to non-heterosexual identity, and individuals who adopt this hierarchical view of group differences would view heterosexuality as normative and non-heterosexuality as deviant and inferior.

There is an established body of literature recognizing “male” and “White” forms of privileged status in Western cultural contexts (e.g., Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001), which refers to a system of social advantages or special rights for Whites and men based primarily on race or gender rather than merit. A similar system of privilege has also been identified for heterosexuals as well, including the right to marry, death benefits for life partners, partner health benefit packages from employers, the protection of custody and visitation rights, and the protection from hate crimes, just to name a few (Worthington et al., 2002). This hidden power base is conferred, maintained, and reinforced through a culturally constructed set of symbols, protocols, and societal norms that act as sanctions for the expression of privilege and foster the invisibility of LGB people and relationships. As such, heterosexual privileges, like White and male privileges, are important components of heterosexual identities, in which the delineation of majority identity theories becomes a critical aspect of the examination of privilege. Within this system of inequity, heterosexuals often assume that they are entitled to resources and opportunities that are not made available to their LGB counterparts. These unequally distributed resources and opportunities become a power base of unearned advantages and a sense of entitlement that results in both societal and material dominance by heterosexuals over LGB people. It is the predictive effect of this sense of entitlement on attitudes and behaviors towards lesbian women and gay men that this study hopes to capture in its analysis.

Heterosexual privilege also intersects uniquely with male privilege. Wide ranging

scholarship has consistently identified the interconnection between institutionalized sexism, male gender role socialization, and the development and perpetuation of homonegativity (Kimmel, 2003; Kivel, 1992; Pharr, 1988; Rich, 1981; Worthington, et al., 2002). Men are socialized to “fit” emotionally, physically, and socially, within a narrow band of acceptable masculinity to both distinguish themselves from women and reduce the likelihood that they will be considered homosexual. While this relationship is complex, one overarching result has been that heterosexually-identified men espouse particularly strong levels of homonegative attitudes when compared to heterosexually-identified women (Herek, 1988, 2000, 2002; Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Male privilege interwoven with this homonegativity results in unique benefits for heterosexually-identified men. These include systematic power over women as well as dominance over sexual minorities.

### **Psychological Entitlement**

The importance of *entitlement* has not gone unnoticed by social psychologists. Several researchers have made entitlement central to their thoughts regarding values and social justice (Feather, 1999; Lerner, 1987; Lerner & Mikula, 1994). A compelling body of research has documented that evaluations of others and rewards and punishments desired for others hinge on whether those others are judged to deserve their outcomes.

It is important to state explicitly the approach of the current study to psychological entitlement. Entitlement is conceptualized as a stable and pervasive sense that one deserves more and is entitled to more than others. This sense of entitlement will also be reflected in desired or actual behaviors. The concept of psychological entitlement

is intrapsychically pervasive or global; it does not necessarily refer to entitlement that results from a specific situation (e.g., “I am entitled to social security because I paid into the system,” or “I deserve an ‘A’ because I performed well in class”). Rather, psychological entitlement is a sense of entitlement that is experienced across situations (Campbell et al., 2004). Furthermore, the concept of psychological entitlement includes both the experience of being deserving and entitled. These two concepts are often used interchangeably in common discourse. Both terms suggest that a reward or other positive outcome is owed to the self, but the source of the outcome differs. Notably, deservingness typically reflects the expectation of a reward in exchange for one’s own efforts or character, whereas entitlement typically reflects the expectation of a reward as a result of a social contract.

Entitlement has been defined as an individual’s attitude about what he or she has the right to expect from others and has been conceptualized as having two forms (Nadkarni, Steil, Malone, & Sagrestano, 2005; Schwartz & Tylka, 2008). The first form of entitlement is self reliance/self assurance, an adaptive form of entitlement that has been conceptualized as necessary to emotional well-being. Self-assertive entitlement is characterized by a healthy sense of personal entitlement and the ability to assertively and confidently stand up for one’s preferences (Nadkarni et al., 2005).

Early studies of entitlement attitudes have focused solely on the negative (narcissistic) aspects of entitlement; however, in the last few decades researchers have begun to examine specific adaptive and maladaptive forms of entitlement (see Meyer, 1991 for a review). Most recently, Nadkarni, Steil, Malone, and Sagrestano (2009)

operationalized two aspects of entitlement: a healthy form of entitlement, associated with assertiveness, self-worth, and sensitivity to inequalities or unjust situations, and an unhealthy form of entitlement, associated with disrespect for the rights of others and a narcissistic tendency to exploit people. Historically, psychology has focused on the second form of entitlement, characterized as maladaptive and referred to as narcissistic entitlement/self-promotion.

High levels of unhealthy entitlement, however, may increase problematic gender role functioning for men (Hill & Fischer, 2001; Schwartz & Tykla, 2008). Men who support traditional gender roles, for instance, also tend to endorse more favorable perceptions of heterosexual rape (Davis & Liddell, 2002) and sexual harassment of women (Wade & Brittan-Powell, 2001). Such views of women, in conjunction with traditional gender roles, have been shown to be a function of male socialization leading to unhealthy entitlement attitudes (e.g., Hill & Fischer, 2001).

Psychological entitlement is characterized by an exaggerated idea of one's own rights without regard for the rights of others, resulting in self-centered and demanding behavior (Nadkarni et al., 2005). Entitlement has been linked to endorsing unrealistic positive self-evaluations (John & Robins, 1994) and externalizing negative feedback (e.g., blaming the evaluator or the evaluative techniques) but still experiencing negative emotion based on the feedback (Baumeister, Catanese, & Wallace, 2002). For the purpose of brevity, in this study psychological, or narcissistic entitlement will be referred to as entitlement.

### **Narcissistic entitlement.**

Within personality psychology, the entitled disposition has often been studied in connection with narcissism. Narcissism is an individual-differences construct with the primary characteristic of a grandiose and inflated sense of self (Campbell, Rudich, & Sedikides, 2002; Emmons, 1987; Raskin & Terry, 1988). The narcissistic self also entails a sense of specialness, uniqueness, and entitlement (Emmons, 1984; Exline, Baumeister, Bushman, Campbell, & Finkel, 2004; Raskin & Terry, 1988). The main hypothesis of this investigation is that this entitled dimension of narcissism is linked to the exhibition of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors.

Entitlement may be a promising construct to examine as a predictor of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors as well as for intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes. While there appears to be little research that systematically examined the entitlement– homophobia association, findings from earlier studies offer preliminary support for a link between entitlement and behavior related to homophobia (Exline et al., 2004). Research describes individuals high in narcissistic entitlement as defensive and easy to offend. More troubling, there is an established link between narcissistic entitlement and a lack of empathy, tendency towards aggression, and the perpetration of violence. In addition, there is a connection with gender role conflict and restricted affection, and finally with greater irrationality and disregard for social conventions. The findings that support these connections are presented next.

The Greek myth and original concept of narcissism emphasized the self's admiration for itself. Narcissistic entitlement involves expectations of special treatment

and preoccupation with defending one's rights. When those expectations are challenged, the maladaptive traits aspects of this personality type become apparent. Entitlement is more explicitly interpersonal, emphasizing one's assumptions about how others should treat them. Clearly the entitlement interpersonal style causes individuals some difficulty. Entitlement has an interpersonal focus, but the focus is less on relationships and more on what they achieve for the entitled narcissist (Strelan, 2007). An attitude of narcissistic entitlement, to be special and exempt from ordinary reality, is seen as intrinsic to the more persistent and pathological forms of grievance, and this narcissistic entitlement fuels grievance (Weintrobe, 2004). Emmons (1984) reported on three studies in 1984 that demonstrated how narcissism correlated with basic dimensions of personality. His work found that narcissism scores were positively related to dominance, neuroticism, social anxiety, and more aggressive/sadistic and rebellious/distrustful interpersonal styles. Watson, Grisham, Trotter, and Biderman (1984) found this aspect of narcissism to be related to a lack of empathy. They correlated three empathy questionnaires with scores on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) and observed a negative relationship. In their review, they found that the NPI subscale focusing on Entitlement/Exploitativeness (E/E) was most strongly related to a lack of empathy and directly related to social desirability, measured using the Crowne-Marlow Social Desirability Scale and the Edwards Social Desirability Scale (Watson, et al., 1984). Negative correlations between the E/E subscale and social desirability scales were interpreted as evidence of sensitivity to manipulation and prejudice in relationships for those who exhibit a style of narcissistic

entitlement (Watson et al., 1984). Perhaps narcissistic individuals exploit and manipulate others to increase their sense of individual self-worth, and in-group social dominance.

The entitled component of narcissism implies that a person expects special, preferential treatment from others. Because such special treatment is not always forthcoming, entitled narcissists are often easy to offend. Prior research supports this reasoning, suggesting that entitled narcissists are quick to take offense (McCullough, Emmons, Kilpatrick, & Mooney, 2003), and to externalize blame (Campbell, Reeder, Sedikides, & Elliot, 2000). Research also supports the face-saving, defensive aspects of narcissistic entitlement. Furthermore, entitlement and exploitativeness have been shown to be positively correlated with overdomination in men exhibiting a narcissistic interpersonal style (Capron, 2004). Studies have demonstrated that narcissists are prone to derogate or attack those who provide ego-threatening feedback in the form of failure or social rejection (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Bushman, Bonacci, van Dijk, & Baumeister, 2003; Konrath, Bushman & Campbell, 2006). Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, and Bushman (2004) found that the needs of the other do not reside centrally in entitled individuals' self-views, therefore aggression against anyone representing a threat to, or criticism of their world view is seen as an appropriate response. Highly entitled participants in their study lashed out and behaved aggressively against anyone who challenged their beliefs or provided criticism.

Interdisciplinary review of evidence about aggression, crime, and violence also suggested that male violence appears to be a result of threatened egotism, represented by “highly favorable views of self that are disputed by some person or circumstance ”

(Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996, p. 5). Indeed, scholars have posited that threats to entitlement can make some men insecure, angry, and pathologically violent as they face the threat of losing their power (Monick, 2006). Studies demonstrating that traditional men experience more negative affect and anger when they feel their masculinity is threatened (e.g., Eisler et al., 2000; Vass & Gold, 1995) offer indirect evidence to suggest that violations of entitlement, for some men, may lead to an increased risk of transforming anger into violence. Thus, entitlement may be related to men's ability to manage anger in conflicts.

Research also supports the conversion of the aggressive tendencies of entitled narcissists to the perpetration of violence. Reidy, Zeichner, Foster, & Martinez (2008) found E/E is significantly related to the perpetration of violence and victimization, and to all three indices of aggression; general aggression, initial aggression, and extreme aggression. Data also indicated that entitlement and exploitativeness contribute to the prediction of initial aggression, or a tendency to initiate aggression in an explosive manner with greater intensity and duration rather than by using initial low levels of aggression and increasing the level of aggression as the provoking interaction progresses. The highly entitled and exploitative individual may forego verbally aggressive statements and relatively innocuous actions for immediate engagement in intense aggressive acts. The combination in hostile/reactive and instrumental motivations in the case of the highly entitled and exploitative narcissist, is of particular concern as it may lead to some of the most severe and deleterious acts of violence. Bushman et al. (2003) posit that entitlement increases the risk of the narcissist becoming prone to hostile and reactive aggression and,

as such, violence may become extreme, even in the absence of ego-threat (Reidy et al., 2008).

Entitlement and exploitativeness represent the most maladaptive of the narcissistic traits (Raskin & Novacek, 1989). The findings from the work of Reidy et al. (2008) indicate that a particularly toxic combination of narcissistic sub-traits may operate to increase the risk, not only for general aggressive behavior, but for explosive and extreme aggression in thwarted narcissistic individuals. Entitlement and exploitative tendencies in the narcissistic individual may, therefore, not only be linked to greater maladjustment and psychopathology, but represent a particularly high risk factor for aggressive behavior and violence towards individual members of perceived out-groups, like the gay and lesbian community.

Perhaps as a protective factor against the type of ego-threat presented by out-groups like the LGB community, narcissistic entitlement predicts greater restricted affection between men. Schwartz & Tylka (2008) have found that men who exhibit high levels of narcissistic entitlement are more likely to adhere to rigid and restrictive gender role behavior with respect to success/power/competition and demand restricted affection between men. This may be a self-protective mechanism, as entitlement is conceptualized as a logical extension of internalized sexual and gender role conflict (Schwartz & Tylka, 2008) that impacts men's perceptions of themselves and their interactions with those around them. Narcissistic traits have been conceptualized to serve as a defense against underlying feelings of inadequacy and shame (Tenzer, 1987). Previous research has also linked success/power/competition and restricted affection between men to interpersonal

difficulties (Schwartz, Waldo, & Daniels, 2005). It may be that those inclined to narcissistic entitlement externalize their gender role conflict in these areas toward trying to convince others of their worth and attractiveness (Schwartz & Tylka, 2008). It follows that members of an out-group that challenges normative gender roles, like gay and lesbian people, are likely to activate this conflict in men who are disposed to narcissistic entitlement. The greater an injustice or affront to one's moral code is perceived, the greater the likelihood that forgiveness, compassion, and sympathetic concern seem dangerous or unfair options (Exline et al., 2004). Exline et al., (2004) posit that the inability of entitled individuals to forgive behavior antithetical to one's beliefs may be explained by entitled narcissists' lack of concern for the maintenance of good social relations.

Further evidence suggests that psychological entitlement is associated with a "disregard for social conventions" (Watson, Morris, Hood & Biderman, 1990). Research using the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) revealed the Exploitativeness/Entitlement (E/E) dimension to predict less emotional and cognitive empathy, more interpersonal distress, less social responsibility, and lower social desirability scores. Entitlement therefore operationalizes a maladaptive trait characterized by a socially undesirable and irresponsible interpersonal insensitivity with diminished empathic capacity (Watson & Morris, 1991). One interpretation of this pattern might be that narcissists are cognitively and emotionally unresponsive (Watson et al., 1984).

In addition, there is clear evidence that entitlement is associated with greater irrationality. Data on the study of entitlement/exploitativeness also supports assumptions that entitlement leads to greater irrational beliefs which can promote maladjustment. Direct E/E correlations with the Irrational Beliefs Test support the theory underlying Rational-Emotive Therapy. An entitled form of self-functioning does, in fact, predict greater irrationality and the likelihood of an individual acting outside the empirical realm (Watson & Morris, 1990).

In a recently published study, Keiller (2010) found that heterosexual men's narcissism is linked to an adversarial and angry stance toward heterosexual women, but not to non-heterosexual groups. In the analysis, Keiller posits that narcissists may want to maintain feelings of superiority and power over all people, and that narcissistic heterosexual men are particularly invested in subordinating heterosexual women. The results of this study would suggest narcissism is related to favorable attitudes toward lesbian women, and unrelated to antipathy toward gay men. As described previously, there are many facets to narcissism, of which entitlement is one. The results of the Keiller (2010) study potentially confound the elements of narcissism where the current study will consider the individual subfactor of entitlement from the greater factor of narcissism. Keiller (2010) also found that greater narcissism was correlated with greater investment in traditional gender roles, and that men's investment in traditional gender roles was linked to harsher attitudes toward gay men. The current study will investigate this connection.

Given this aggression towards out-groups and strict adherence to traditional conventions that maintain dominance by in-groups, it should follow that there is a connection between entitlement, RWA, SDO, conformity to traditional gender norms, and religious orientation. See Table 1 for a summary of definitions and relationship between these predictor variables.

Table 1:

Summary of Predictor Variables and Hypothesized Relationships to Dependent Variables, DGP Model Differentiations and SDO Validity Types.

	Definition	Hypothesized relationship to ATLG	DGP Model Differentiation & SDO Validity Type
Narcissistic Entitlement (NPI/PES)	Narcissism is an individual-differences construct with the primary characteristic of a grandiose and inflated sense of self (Campbell, Rudich, & Sedikides, 2002; Emmons, 1987; Raskin & Terry, 1988). The narcissistic self also entails a sense of specialness, uniqueness, and entitlement (Emmons, 1984; Exline, Baumeister, Bushman, Campbell, & Finkel, 2004; Raskin & Terry, 1988)	Entitlement is positively related to ATLG and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and negatively related to lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors.	Category Differentiation Discriminant Validity with SDO
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	Altemeyer (1981, 1988, 1996) conceptualized RWA as characterized by three domains (a) <i>authoritarian submission</i> , or a high degree of submission to “established and legitimate” authorities, such as parents, religious leaders, law enforcement, government, or military officials; (b) <i>authoritarian aggression</i> , or a tendency to cause psychological, physical, or financial harm against out-groups or unconventional people; and (c) <i>conventionalism</i> , or the adherence to traditional social conventions perceived to be endorsed by society and its authorities.	RWA is positively related to ATLG and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and negatively related to lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors.	Normative Differentiation Discriminant Validity with SDO
Conformity to Masculine Norms (CMNI)	The underlying purpose of the male socialization process is to instill in men the socially defined masculine ideals of being emotionally stoic and interpersonally dominant to avoid being or appearing feminine (Mahalik, et al., 1998). Because of this, “a man experiences any particular facet of the self that he considers feminine with great conflict and anxiety, because he believes it threatens his manhood” (Meth, 1990, p. 16). As a result of this fear of femininity, men are believed to conform to traditional male roles as a coping strategy to avoid femininity (Pleck, 1981, 1995).	CMNI is positively related to ATLG and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and negatively related to lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors.	Normative Differentiation Predictive Validity with SDO
Intrinsic Religiosity (ROSR-I)	Allport (1967) defined intrinsic religiosity as referring to an orientation towards genuine, heartfelt devout faith, as opposed to extrinsic religiosity, referring to a more utilitarian use of religion as a means to an end, such as church attendance to gain social status.	ROSR-I is positively related to ATLG and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and negatively related to lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors.	Normative Differentiation Predictive validity with SDO
Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)	The extent to which one desires that one's in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups. SDO is considered to be a general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical, that is, ordered along a superior-inferior dimension (Pratto, et al., 1994).	SDO is positively related to ATLG and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and negatively related to lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors.	Category Differentiation

The present research was designed to build on these suggestive findings by focusing systematically on the role of entitlement, RWA, SDO, conformity to masculine norms, and intrinsic religious orientation in predicting anti-gay and –lesbian attitudes and behaviors. Specifically, this study will test the following hypotheses:

### **Proposed Hypotheses**

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of right-wing authoritarianism, intrinsic religious orientation, conformity to masculine gender norms, social dominance orientation, and narcissistic entitlement in the prediction of homonegative attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Another purpose is to investigate the relationship between homonegative attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Although the relationship between entitlement and various other characteristics of social and mental health functioning have begun to be examined in literature, this study is one of the first to explore the influence of narcissistic entitlement as a predictor of attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian women and gay men.

#### **Hypothesis 1.**

Entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism, conformity to masculine norms, social dominance orientation, and intrinsic religiosity are related significantly and positively with reports of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, and gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. Support for these links is prerequisite for examining corresponding mediations. See Figure 1.

There is a well-established relationship between authoritarianism and conformity to traditional masculine gender norms and anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, as well as a

recognized link between authoritarianism and masculine norm conformity and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Also, there is an established link with intrinsic religious orientation, though previous research has demonstrated that much of this relationship is mediated by RWA.

The hypothesized relationship with entitlement is exploratory in nature as no research has yet systematically examined the entitlement–homonegative association. However, as described in the integrated analysis, research illustrates individuals high in narcissistic entitlement as defensive, easy to offend, lacking empathy, tending towards aggression and the perpetration of violence, more irrational, having restricted affection, and disregard for social conventions. I expect that because entitlement is predictive of these factors, it will also be predictive of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors.

### **Hypothesis 2.**

Entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, conformity to masculine norms, and intrinsic religiosity are related significantly and positively with reports of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, and related negatively with reports of lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. Support for these links is prerequisite for examining corresponding mediations. See Figure 1.

### **Hypothesis 3.**

Anti-gay and lesbian attitudes mediate relations of entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, conformity to masculine norms, and intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. See Figure 1.

With the correlation between attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian women and gay men being greater than .40, there is the likelihood for a strong mediation. Under the assumption that the correlations will demonstrate a relationship between entitlement and homonegativity, the expectation is that anti-gay and lesbian attitudes mediate the links of the study predictive variables with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors.

**Hypothesis 4.**

Anti-gay and lesbian attitudes mediate relations of entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, conformity to masculine norms, and intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. See the hypothesized path model presented in Appendix M and Figure 1.

**Hypothesis 5.**

Exploring parallel paths with gay- and lesbian-rejecting and –affirming behaviors will reveal unique patterns of relations with lesbian- and gay-rejecting and –affirming behaviors.

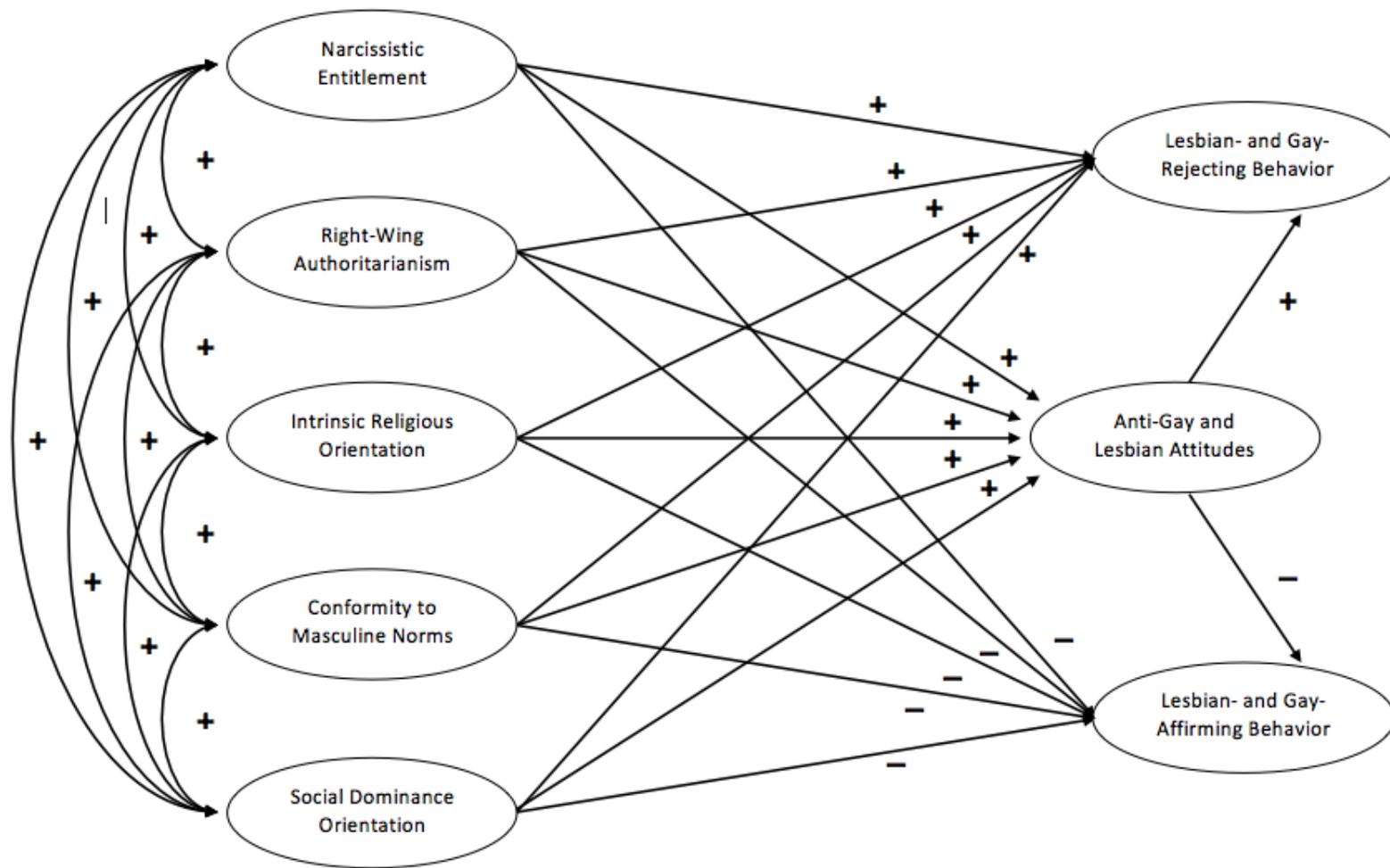


Figure 1. Hypothesized path model of relations and valences among variables of interest for lesbian- and gay rejecting and affirming behaviors through Anti-Gay and Lesbian Attitudes

## Chapter Three: Methodology

### Statement of Purpose

As previously noted, prevailing cultural values associated with sexual prejudice will, in extreme cases, manifest as aggression toward gay men and lesbian women (Franklin, 2000; Herek, 2000; Yang, 2000). As such, it is necessary to examine men's internalization of these societal values and norms. There is little doubt that sexual stigma pervades social institutions of most cultures, including those that influence psychosocial factors, such as the activation of narcissistic entitlement, authoritarianism, religious attitudes, gender role norms, and a dominance orientation. However, men differ in the extent to which they internalize role and ideologies that reinforce heterosexism. Extreme internalization of these dominant ideologies in the form of rigid adherence to any of these ideologies may increase the likelihood that heterosexual men manifest sexual prejudice and, subsequently, anger and aggression toward gay men and lesbian women. However, the relative influence of these factors is unknown, as research has yet to examine their associations with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behavior within a single study. The aim of the present study was to address this gap in the literature.

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the role of right-wing authoritarianism, intrinsic religious orientation, conformity to masculine gender norms, social dominance orientation, and narcissistic entitlement in the prediction of anti-lesbian and -gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Another purpose is to investigate the relationship between anti-lesbian and -gay attitudes and gay-

and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. As previously described, an entitled/exploitive style has emerged in the literature as maladaptive and linked to various negative behaviors, including expectation of special treatment, intolerance of out-groups, restricted affect, irrationality, diminished ability to forgive, less empathy, decreased social responsibility, and perpetration of violence and victimization, (Exline, et al, 2004; Reidy et al., 2007; Rowatt et al., 2009; Schwartz & Tylka, 2008; Strelan, 2006; and Watson & Morris, 1990, 1991). Although the relationship between entitlement and various other characteristics of social and mental health functioning have begun to be examined in literature, no research to date has explored the influence of narcissistic entitlement as a predictor of attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian and gay persons.

The present study aims to advance prior literature by (a) examining the relationship between possessing an entitled/exploitative style and exhibiting anti-lesbian and -gay attitudes and behaviors; (b) examining concomitantly the links of entitlement, authoritarianism, intrinsic religious orientation, conformity to masculine gender norms, and social dominance orientation with reported anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors, and lesbian- and gay- behaviors; and (c) once establishing a correlation between the predictive variables and anti-gay and -lesbian attitudes and behaviors, testing the potential mediating role of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes in the links of entitlement and authoritarianism with anti-gay and lesbian behaviors, and with gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors.

In these ways, this study will contribute to identifying unique predictors of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and revealing the means through which they are related to

lesbian- and gay-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Such data can point to future research aimed to better understand anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors, and inform potential interventions. Specifically, this study tests the following hypotheses: (a) Entitlement is related significantly and positively with right-wing authoritarianism, intrinsic religious orientations, conformity to masculine gender norms, social dominance orientation, and reports of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and negatively with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors; (b) entitlement accounts for unique variance in reports of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and in reports of lesbian- and gay-rejecting and affirming behaviors, in the presence of right-wing authoritarianism, intrinsic religious orientation, conformity to gender norms and social dominance orientation (support for these links is a prerequisite for examining corresponding mediations); and (c) anti-gay and lesbian attitudes mediate relations of entitlement and authoritarianism with both lesbian- and gay-rejecting and affirming behaviors.

## **Participants**

Prior research has found men demonstrate significantly more direct physical aggression than women (Archer, 2004); men are more prejudiced in general than women, in part because women are more empathetic toward different others than men (Bäckström & Björklund, 2007); and men are more homophobic than women (Negy & Eisenman, 2005; Parrot, Adams, & Zeichner, 2002), especially in terms of their negative attitudes towards gay men (Gormley & Lopez, 2010; Haslam & Levy, 2006). In particular, compared to women, many men are socialized to feel entitled (McGann & Steil, 2006).

Campbell et al. (2004) conducted a meta-analysis of the gender differences in psychological entitlement across 10 studies. They found that men reported a higher score on psychological entitlement than did women, weighted  $d = .20$ ,  $p < .0001$ ; unweighted  $d = .17$ ;  $r = .09$ . To put this difference into perspective, the effect size is almost identical to the effect size of  $d = .21$  found in a recent meta-analysis of gender and self-esteem (Kling et al., 1999). Therefore, to maintain the ecological validity of the study, women will be excluded based on these analyses of aggression, prejudice, and homophobia in real world settings. As the purpose of the study is to examine heterosexual person's implicit prejudice towards lesbian and gay individuals, only data from those participants identifying as heterosexual will be analyzed.

A minimum sample size was determined using the recommendations made by Byrne (2009), who suggests that the number of participants should be no less than five times the number of parameters being estimated in the structural equation model. Byrne's recommendations are based on those of Benter and Chou (1987) who reported that the ratio of sample size to number of free parameters may be able to go as low as 5:1 under normal and elliptical theory, especially when there are many indicators of latent variables and the associated factor loadings are large. They go further to say that although there is even less experience on which to base a recommendation, a ratio of at least 10:1 may be more appropriate for arbitrary distributions. These ratios need to be larger to obtain trustworthy z-tests on the significance of parameters, and still larger to yield correct model evaluation chi-square probabilities (Bentler & Chou, 1987). Between direct and indirect paths, factor loadings, and disturbances for the structural model, there

are 34 parameters to estimate in the model for this study, indicating that a minimum of 135 participants would be indicated using the 5:1 guideline or 340 participants using the more conservative 10:1 guideline.

Participants were recruited through the University of Texas Educational Psychology Subject Pool, as well as through an internet snowball sample. In order to recruit respondents to the internet sample, 122 emails were sent to local, regional, and national religiously affiliated organizations, such as The Knights of Columbus, The Promise Keepers, and The Gathering. Recruitment emails were also sent to non-religious men's organizations, including The Freemasons and the Shriners. Email requests described the study as a survey of "Attitudes about Contemporary Social Issues." The investigator also petitioned friends and family members in an effort to collect the snowball sample. Each email request was followed up with a second email reminder/request after two weeks. The internet survey went live October 1, 2011, and was accessed a total of 74 times in the first five weeks. While it accessed 74 times, only 21 people submitted responses to the survey, and that number remain unchanged in the last two weeks before it was closed. The internet survey was piloted to last 20 minutes. It was active for a period of 7 weeks.

A small number of emails were received regarding the request for assistance that shed some light on why the sample was not larger. All of the emails received expressed either a hesitancy, or outright refusal to provide assistance, based on the reaction group leaders had about the survey and debrief. One of the emails read:

Thank you for your response. My work is with men of all denominations. They

are both Protestant and Catholic. Through your research, you should know the position of the Church on the issues you have mentioned. The men in our group follow the historic teachings of the Church which, as you know, are based on Holy Scripture. I realize that this answer is not helpful to your study. However, that is really the only assistance that I can offer. I hope that in the process of your work you will discover, or re-discover, that the teachings of Holy Scripture on these and all matters are to be our only guide. May you find your way to Him through your work. God bless you.

One of the people who responded, shared that he did not support the project because of the nature of the items. His email read:

There are quite a few times when you asked questions that may or may not be perceived as negative, depending on the individual. For example, is it negative to consider homosexual activity a sin? Is that considered a negative attitude towards homosexuals? Because it's certainly not as black and white as, say, beating up a homosexual person because he/she is gay.

These emails highlighted a problem in the data collection. Individuals likely to be high in homonegative behavior are not likely to participate in this survey because of the very nature of the research. For this reason, the decision was made to exclude the 21 responses to the internet survey and proceed with the Educational Psychology Subject Pool data as there was no incentive for participants to skew data or provide false responses.

Data from 385 male Educational Psychology students completed the survey. 31 of the participants, approximately 8% of the sample, identified as non-heterosexual and were thus excluded from the intercorrelations and structural equation models. Data from

the remaining 354 participants was used in the analysis for the present study.

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 37 years ( $M = 21.27$ ,  $SD = 1.98$ , median = 21). Approximately 49% of the sample identified as Caucasian/White, 23% Hispanic/Latino, 23% Asian American, 5% African-American/Black, 4% Multiracial, 2% International/Foreign, 1% Alaskan Native/Native American, less than 1% Middle Eastern, and less than 1% identified as other. Overall, 5% of the participants identified as freshmen, 13% sophomore, 18% junior, 62.1% senior, 2% graduate student, and less than 1% as other. In addition, 4% of the participants identified as international students. In terms of religious affiliation, 61% of participants identified as followers of Christianity, 10% as Agnostic, 9% as non-religious/secular, 6% Atheist, 4% Islam, 4% Judaism, 2% Buddhism, 2% Hinduism, and 3% identified as other. With regard to social class, 43% of the sample identified as middle class, 36% upper middle class, 14% as working class, 5% as upper class, and less than 1% identified as other.

Preliminary analysis was conducted by religion and race and no significant differences were found for the variables of interest. A subjective measure of socioeconomic status was included in the analysis. Results have been included in Table 2 provided later in data analysis, along with the correlations between variables of interest.

Table 2:  
*Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Variables of Interest*

	Mean	(SD)	$\alpha$	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Narcissistic Entitlement (NPI)	4.38	(2.95)	.81	-										
2. Psychological Entitlement (PES)	3.96	(1.22)	.92	.64**	-									
3. Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	4.36	(1.29)	.94	.24**	.26**	-								
4. Conformity to Masculine Norms (CMNI)	141.01	(26.10)	.94	.56**	.49**	.37**	-							
5. Intrinsic Religiosity (ROSR-I)	3.96	(1.13)	.78	-.07	-.05	-.51**	-.05	-						
6. Social Dominance (SDO)	3.20	(1.15)	.95	.39**	.39**	.48**	.52**	-.14**	-					
7. Anti-Lesbian and Gay Attitudes (ATLG)	2.35	(0.86)	.96	.43**	.35**	.66**	.47**	-.47**	.49**	-				
8. Lesbian- and Gay-Rejecting Behaviors (SRBS-R)	1.53	(0.65)	.97	.58**	.52**	.47**	.59**	-.16**	.39**	.65**	-			
9. Lesbian- and Gay-Affirming Behaviors (BTH)	1.53	(0.56)	.82	-.09	.02	-.25**	-.17*	.13*	-.24**	-.34**	-.11*	-		
10. Impression Management (BIDR)	3.16	(2.74)	.71	-.21**	-.23**	-.08	-.26**	-.13*	-.31**	-.18**	-.22**	-.02	-	
11. Subjective SES	6.54	(1.52)	-	.12*	.11*	.02	.09	-.06	.14**	.09	.16**	.06	-.01	-

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

## Measures

Demographic survey. Participants were asked to respond to questions providing information about their demographics, including age, gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and religious affiliation. *Gender* was determined by the participant's response to a forced choice between *women* and *men*. Racial/ethnic information was assessed by asking participants to check all descriptions that apply to them from the following categories: African American/Black, Alaska Native/American Indian, Asian American, Caucasian/White, Hispanic American/Latino/a, Middle Eastern/Arab American, Multiracial, International/Foreign Student, and Other. Sexual orientation was determined by asking participants to check the description that most accurately describes their orientation from the following options: bisexual, gay/lesbian, heterosexual, and questioning. Religious affiliation was determined by asking participants to check the description that most accurately describes their religious affiliation from the following options: Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, other affiliation, spiritual but not religious, and atheist/agnostic/no religion.

### **Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men.**

Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG; Herek, 1988) is a commonly used measure of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and assesses the continuum between condemnation and tolerance toward this population. ATLG has 20 items; 10 items assess attitudes toward gay men (ATG) and 10 items assess attitudes toward lesbian women (ATL). Items are rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *disagree strongly* to 5 = *agree strongly*. Sample items are "Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong"

and “The growing number of lesbians indicate [*sic*] a decline in American morals.” Appropriate items are reverse scored and item ratings are averaged, with higher scores indicating more negative attitudes. In terms of reliability, Cronbach's alphas were .77 for ATL items and .89 for ATG items in Herek's (1988) sample of college students. Validity of ATLG scores with samples of college students has been demonstrated through consistently high correlations with variables associated conceptually with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes such as dogmatism, conservative political ideology, and lack of personal contact with gay and lesbian persons (Herek, 1988; Whitley & Lee, 2000). In previous studies using the instrument, Cronbach's alphas were .91 for ATL items and .93 for ATG items (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). For the purpose of this study, the ATL and ATG scores will be combined into one summative measure of anti-lesbian and gay attitude, following preliminary analysis demonstrating no difference in scores between the two subscales. This technique was first suggested by Herek (1988) when he developed the scale, and was utilized more recently by Goodman and Moradi (2008) and Tsang and Rowatt (2007). In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .96 for ATLG items.

#### **The Self-Report of Behavior Scale—Revised.**

The Self-Report of Behavior Scale – Revised (SRBS–R, Roderick, McCammon, Long, & Allred, 1998) was used to assess reported gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors in the current study. The SRBS–R, originally created by Patel et al. (1995) and subsequently revised by Roderick et al. (1998). The SRBS–R has 20 items that assess behaviors toward lesbian women and gay men. Items are rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *always*, and item ratings are averaged to yield an overall score,

with higher scores indicating more self-reported engagement in gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. SRBS–R items assess *passive avoidance*, or moving-away-from behaviors, and *active aggression*, or moving-against behaviors. Sample items are “I have changed seat locations because I suspected the man sitting next to me was homosexual” and “I have spread negative talk about someone because she was a lesbian.” Although the original version of the SRBS–R assessed behaviors targeted at “a gay person,” Whitley (2001) modified the scale to assess the extent to which the behaviors were targeted at lesbian women and gay men; this procedure was used in the present study as well. With samples of college students, Whitley (2001) found that SRBS–R items yielded Cronbach's alphas in the high .80s and low .90s and loaded on a single factor. In terms of convergent validity, Whitley (2001) reported that SRBS–R scores were correlated with, but loaded on, a separate factor from attitudes toward and stereotypes about gay and lesbian persons in a college sample. Also, with a sample of college students, Patel et al. found that SRBS scores were independent from scores on the K scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, which assesses defensiveness and tendency to present oneself in a positive light. Cronbach's alpha for SRBS–R items in other previous studies have averaged around was .92 (Goodman & Moradi, 2008).

To update the Self-Report of Behavior Scale – Revised (SRBS-R), six new items were created and added to the scale. See Appendix B for a list of all of the items used in the current study, including the six additional items. Including the new items did not significantly alter the Cronbach's alpha for the scale. The Cronbach's alpha for the original 20-item scale was .97. The Cronbach's alpha calculated for the 6 new items by

themselves was .86. The overall Cronbach's alpha for the entire 26-item scale, including the 6 new items was .98. The 26-item SRBS-R was used for the data analysis in this study.

### **Behavior Towards Homosexuals Scale.**

Lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors will be assessed with the Helping Behaviors subscale of the Behavior Towards Homosexuals Scale (BTH; Schope & Eliason, 2000). This 6-item measure assesses respondents' reports of how often they engaged in gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors in the past year (*never, 1–2 times, 3–4 times, 5 or more times*). Sample items include “Challenged an anti-gay joke or remark” and “Invited a gay person to your living space.” Item ratings are averaged; higher scores indicate greater reported lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. In terms of validity, Schope and Eliason found that undergraduate respondents who report having a gay or lesbian friend generally have higher helping behavior scores than did those who have no contact with lesbian or gay persons. Previously reported reliability data for Helping Behaviors items provided a Cronbach's alpha of .82 (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). In the current study Cronbach's alpha for the BTH items was also .82.

### **The Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale.**

The Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA; Altemeyer, 1981, 1988) assesses authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism. As recommended by Altemeyer (1998), RWA's 30 items are rated on a 9-point scale ranging from - 4 = *very strongly disagree* to 4 = *very strongly agree*. Item ratings are transposed to a 1-to-9 scale and then averaged, with higher scores indicating higher levels of

authoritarianism. Sample items include “Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn” and “Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibers and traditional beliefs.” One item specifically assesses attitudes toward gay and lesbian persons. However, consistent with prior research (Whitley & Lee, 2000), this item will not be scored in order to avoid an inflated correlation with ATLG scores. Cronbach's alphas for RWA items have ranged from .81 to .96 in previous research (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009). With regard to validity, Goodman and Moradi (2008) report that RWA scores were correlated positively with scores on other measures of authoritarian personality, such as the F scale, the Dogmatism scale, the Conservatism scale, and the Balanced F scale, as well as with theoretically related variables such as orientation to established authority and the law, acceptance of the law as the basis of morality, and punitiveness toward sanctioned targets (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996). Because the study will examine the relationship between intrinsic religious orientation and attitudes toward lesbian women and gay men, four items on the RWA Scale that directly mention religiousness or homosexuality will be removed from analyses. In the current sample, Cronbach's alpha for RWA items was .94.

### **The Religious Orientation Scale – Revised.**

To assess religious orientation this study used the Religious Orientation Scale – Revised (ROS-R) developed by Gorsuch and McPherson (1989). Gorsuch and McPherson (1989) revised The Religious Orientation Scale developed by Allport and Ross in 1967. The original ROS was based on Gordon Allport's book *The Individual and*

*His Religion* (1950) in which he outlined different dimensions of religiosity, and the many different ways that people may use religion. More recently, this distinction has been encapsulated in the terms "intrinsic religion," which refers to a genuine, heartfelt devout faith, and "extrinsic religion," which refers to a more utilitarian use of religion as a means to an end, such as church attendance to gain social status in the community (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009). These dimensions of religiosity were measured on the Religious Orientation Scale of Allport and Ross (1967). Gorsuch and McPherson (1989) revised The Religious Orientation Scale to expand the subscale for extrinsic religiosity along separate personal and social domains. Responses for the revised scale are given on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *strongly agree* to 7 = *strongly disagree*. Sample items on the intrinsic subscale include "My whole approach to life is based on my religion" and "what religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow." Sample items on the extrinsic subscales include "Prayer is for peace and happiness" for the personal domain, and "I go to church because it helps me to make friends" as an example of the social domain. Awad and Hall-Clark (2009) combined the two extrinsic subdomains into one measure of extrinsic religiosity. This study is following that precedent. The Cronbach's alphas in their study were .89 for the intrinsic subscale and .77 for the extrinsic subscale (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009). With the present sample, Cronbach's alpha was .78.

### **The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory.**

The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI, Mahalik et al., 2003) was developed as a tool for use by clinicians and researchers to examine masculinity issues

with individuals by assessing an individual's relationship to socially constructed masculine gender norms. It assesses the extent to which an individual conforms, or does not conform, to 11 masculinity norms found in the dominant culture in the U.S. and identified as 1) Winning, 2) Emotional Control, 3) Risk-Taking, 4) Violence, 5) Dominance, 6) Playboy, 7) Self-Reliance, 8) Primacy of Work, 9) Power Over Women, 10) Disdain for Homosexuality, and 11) Pursuit of Status. The inventory consists of 94 items answered on a 4-point scale ranging from 0 = strongly disagree to 3 = strongly agree. Sample items for the CMNI include "I have been in trouble with the law," "I prefer to stay unemotional," "at least one time in my life I drank so much that I couldn't remember things I had done while drinking," and "it bothers me when I have to ask for help."

Prior to the development of the CMNI, the two most frequently used measures in the psychology of men were O'Neil's Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, et al., 1986) and Eisler's Gender Role Stress Scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). These two measures have multiple dimensions validated by factor analysis, assess conflict, and stress, respectively. In doing so, the measures focus on the pathology that may be associated with masculinity rather than conformity to masculine gender role norms, per se. This distinction is important because conformity to masculine gender roles norms may often be adaptive and healthy and nonconformity may be associated with societal stressors (Mahalik, et al., 2003). As such, Mahalik felt it useful to develop a measure, the CMNI, that would allow the examination of both benefits and costs associated with conformity as well as nonconformity to masculine gender role norms.

The construction of the CMNI is based on Mahalik's (1999) model of conformity to masculine gender norms. Mahalik, et al. (2003) sought to develop a normative measure of masculinity similar to the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984), the Male Role Norms Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), and the Male Role Norms Inventory (Levant, et al., 1992). This model posits four conformity statuses each reflecting a different point on the continuum of conformity to non-conformity with regard to masculine norms, i.e., extreme conformity, moderate conformity, moderate non-conformity, and extreme non-conformity. All of these conformity statuses are believed to have benefits and costs. In general, the benefits of the two conformity statuses entail group acceptance whereas the individual costs involve personal restriction, particularly for extreme conformity. The benefits of the two non-conformity statuses entail experiencing personal authenticity whereas the costs involve group rejection, particularly for extreme non-conformity (Ludlow & Mahalik, 2002).

Mahalik et al. (2003) reported that the factor analyses supported the 11-factor structure, and that the CMNI significantly related to other masculinity measures, including the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984), the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986), and the Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). Additionally, CMNI scores were found to relate significantly and positively to psychological distress, social dominance, aggression, the desire to be more muscular, and significantly and negatively to attributes toward psychological help seeking. Addressing reliability, Mahalik et al. (2003) reported that internal consistency estimates ranged from .75 to .91 for the 11 Masculinity norms with a coefficient alpha of

.94 for the CMNI total score. Test-retest over 2-3 weeks ranged from .76-.95 for the 11 Masculinity Norms with a test-retest coefficient of .96 for the CMNI Total score. In this study, Cronbach's alpha for the CMNI total score was .94.

The CMNI is scored to yield a CMNI Total score and scores on the 11 Masculinity Norms. The CMNI Total score is a gross indicator of conformity to masculine norms and may mask important variability for the individual in terms of what masculinity norms are most and least salient for the subject. Norm subscales present a more complex picture of an individual's conformity to masculinity (Mahalik et al., 2005).

#### **The Social Dominance Orientation Scale.**

Pratto et al.'s Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO: Pratto, et al., 1994) assesses respondent's preference for inequality among social groups. The SDO's 14 items are rated on a 7-point continuum (1 = *very negative* to 7 = *very positive*). Item ratings are averaged, and higher scores indicate greater dominance orientation. Sample items include "It's ok if some groups have more of a chance in life than others" and "We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally" (reverse scored). The average Cronbach's alpha for SDO items across samples of college students was .83 (Pratto, et al., 1994). With regard to validity, college students' SDO scores have been shown to correlate positively with cultural elitism, ethnic prejudice, sexism, homophobia, political-economic conservatism, and a desire to end affirmative action (Pratto, et al., 1994). Recently reported reliability data for SDO items provided Cronbach's alphas of .89 to .93 (Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Poteat, Espelage, & Green, 2007). In the current study Cronbach's alpha for the SDO items was .95.

### **The Narcissistic Personality Inventory.**

The Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Hall, 1979) was initially developed by Raskin and Hall (1979) due to the inclusion of narcissism as a new category in the third edition of the Diagnostic & Statistical Manual. The NPI categorizes attributes of narcissism into seven subscales, including: 1) Authority, 2) Self sufficiency, 3) Superiority, 4) Exhibitionism, 5) Exploitative, 6) Vanity, and 7) Entitlement. The NPI has been used in other studies with the testing for reliability holding satisfactorily significant in each of them (Emmons, 1984; Watson et al., 1984 ; Soyer, Roverpor, Kopelman, Mullins, & Watson, 2001; Raskin & Novecek, 1989). Soyer et al. (2001) reported the reliability at .83. The NPI uses a forced-choice format with a narcissistic and a non-narcissistic response for each item. The current study will measure Narcissistic entitlement using the 11-item Entitled/Exploitive scale proposed by Emmons (1987). The 11 items loading on this factor of narcissism “seem to involve a heavy interpersonal manipulation content – expectation of favors, exploitation of others, hence this factor is labeled ‘Entitlement/Exploitativeness’ (Emmons, 1984).”

The NPI’s E/E scale is the most commonly used measure of psychological entitlement and has demonstrated negative relations with forgiveness (Exline, Baumeister, Bushman, Campbell, & Finkel, 2004) and positive relations with observed hostility, need for power, dominance, aggression, and lack of self-control (Raskin & Terry, 1988). E/E scores are also positively related to the likelihood of experiencing increased positive affect following downward social comparisons (Bogart, Benotsch, & Pavlovic, 2004) and the manifestation of aggression in a laboratory aggression task

(Reidy, Zeichner, Foster, & Martinez, 2008). These findings lend support to the conceptualization of entitlement as a problematic personality attribute and underscore the importance of being able to measure the construct in a reliable, valid manner.

The 11-item Entitlement/Exploitativeness subscale includes items such as “If I ruled the world it would be a better place” versus “The thought of ruling the world frightens the hell out of me”; “I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve” versus “I will take my satisfactions as they come”; and “I find it easy to manipulate people” versus “I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people”. Entitlement is clearly a component of narcissism, either as a single factor or as part of a larger factor. However, there are three problems with using the NPI Entitlement/Exploitativeness subscale as a stand-alone measure of psychological entitlement. First, the subscale lacks face validity: some items (e.g., “I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve”) sound like entitlement; other items (e.g., “I have a strong will to power; If I ruled the world it would be a better place”) sound more like power seeking or dominance. There have also been few if any efforts to empirically validate the Entitlement/Exploitativeness scale as a stand-alone measure, although the total NPI scale has been validated extensively. Second, the scale has relatively few items, and they are presented in a forced choice format. This may lead to a restriction of range problem with many individuals reporting scores of zero on the scale. Third, the subscale lacks the degree of reliability desired for self-report measures, with alphas often far below .80. For example, the Cronbach's alpha for the full NPI is .82 in previous research, and .45 for the Entitled/Exploitive scale (Exline et al., 2004). Previous research has scored the 6-item entitlement scale proposed by Raskin and

Terry (1988) on the basis of the factor analysis of the full 40-item NPI. Findings using the Raskin & Terry entitlement scale parallel those using Emmons (1987) scale. The internal consistency figures for the Emmons (1987) scale and the Raskin and Terry (1988) entitlement measure, though clearly low, are generally consistent with prior research (Exline et al., 2004; Raskin & Terry, 1988). Campbell et al. (2004) reported the 6-factor Entitlement subscale having an alpha of .49 and a mean of 1.5 with a potential range of 0 to 6. It is important to note that the preceding is not meant as a criticism of the NPI. The entire scale is reliable, valid, and theoretically important. For the current study, the Cronbach's alpha for the E/E subscale items of the NPI was .81.

### **The Psychological Entitlement Scale.**

Overall data do not support the use of the NPI Entitlement/Exploitativeness subscale as a single ideal measure for assessing psychological entitlement. In response to the limitations previously discussed, Campbell et al. (2004) developed an alternative scale, the Psychological Entitlement Scale (PES), aimed at capturing psychological entitlement, which they described as the “stable and pervasive sense that one deserves more and is entitled to more than others” (p. 31). The PES is a 9-item self-report measure of the extent to which individuals believe that they deserve more than others. Items are scored on a scale ranging from 1 (strong disagreement) to 7 (strong agreement). In a meta-analysis of studies conducted by Campbell et al. (2003) the mean for the PES was 31.3 (SD = 9.9;  $\alpha = .87$ ). Sample items for the PES include “I honestly feel I’m just more deserving than others,” “I feel entitled to more of everything,” “if I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the *first* lifeboat!,” and “things should go my way.”

The PES demonstrates good internal consistency and temporal stability and is positively related to entitlement-related behavior (e.g., taking candy intended for children). Individuals high on PES were more likely to respond aggressively following negative evaluation compared to those low in PES. Furthermore, in regard to romantic relationships, PES scores were positively associated with a dismissive attachment style and negatively related to loyalty, perspective taking, and empathy toward their romantic partners (Pryor et al., 2008). With the present sample, the Cronbach's alpha for the PES items was .92.

### **The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding.**

The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR; Paulhus, 1988) is one of the most widely used social desirability scales. Paulhus (1988) designed this inventory to measure self-deceptive positivity and impression management. The Impression Management (IM) subscale, which contains 20 items, will be used in this study. Items are measured on a 7-point scale that ranges from 1 (not true) to 7 (very true). Sample items include "I never take things that don't belong to me" and "I have said something about a friend behind his/her back." Cronbach's alphas have been reported to range from .75 to .86 for the IM subscale. The BIDR showed convergent validity as a measure of social desirability with the Marlow-Crowne Scale (.71), and the Multidimensional Social Desirability Inventory of Jacobson, Kellogg, Cauce, and Slavin (.80) (Paulhus, 1988). Discriminant validity is supported by factor analyses forming separate factors for the impression management and self-deceptive positivity. Previously reported reliability data for the Impression Management subscale items provided Cronbach's alphas between .71

and .73 (Awad & Hall-Clark, 2009; Goodman & Moradi, 2008). In the current sample, Cronbach's alpha for Impression Management subscale items was .71.

## **Procedures**

Prior to the study, the research proposal, informed consent, and a draft of the survey, were submitted to the Institutional Review Boards (IRB) of the University of Texas at Austin and Texas State University. Participants were recruited from an internet snowball sample, as well as the subject pool for the Departments of Educational Psychology. Participants were directed to complete a series of online questionnaires via Qualtrics, a web-hosted survey program. On the webpage, participants viewed a cover letter describing a study of attitudes about contemporary social issues (see Appendix A). They were given the investigator's contact information in case they had questions regarding consent. Participants' identities remained anonymous to the investigator and other participants. Participants in the Educational Psychology subject pool were told that if they did not agree to the terms of consent they should choose not to participate in the study. Those who contacted the investigator, were given other options to fulfill the research requirements without penalty. All participants were notified that they could stop the online survey at any time and withdraw from the study.

These questionnaires included the informed consent, demographic questionnaire, and study instruments including the sections of the ATLG, SRBS-R, BTH, RWA, ROS-R, CMNI, SDO, NPI and PES described in the Measures section. Participants were able to take the survey at any location of their choosing (i.e. home, library, etc.), and were asked to find a place where they could answer questions confidentially without outside

bias or input. If participants agreed to the terms of consent and did not have further questions, they could begin the online survey. After completing the survey, participants received a written pro-social debriefing, which included information about how to contact counseling services if they felt distress as a result of completing the survey (see Appendix B). Given the present study's focus on heterosexual men's attitudes toward lesbian and gay persons, participants were excluded from analysis if they identified as female, bisexual, or as mostly or exclusively gay.

In the present study, the analyses consisted of preliminary analyses and primary analyses. In terms of preliminary analyses, several data preparation tasks were conducted for both item-level data and aggregate-level data, including distribution and reliability inspection, and statistical assumption testing. With respect to primary analyses, a two-step SEM modeling procedure was performed for each topic combination to first specify and test a confirmatory model (i.e., a measurement model) and then establish and examine a full latent variable model. What follows is a brief description of these two types of analyses.

## **Chapter Four: Results**

### **Preliminary Data Analysis**

Prior studies have yielded, mixed results about relations of reported anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors with social desirability, with most evidence suggesting non-significant, or small but significant relations (e.g., Herek, 1988; Roderick et al., 1998; Worthington, et al., 2005). For this reason, the Impression Management subscale of Paulhus' Social Desirability Scale (1988) was administered to all participants.

Preliminary analysis was conducted to see if social desirability was related to any of the dependent variables (anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors). As there was a correlation between the scores on the Social Desirability Scale and the study dependent variables there is a need to control for social desirability in the structural path analyses, therefore it was included in the path model.

### **Descriptive statistics computation and normality checking.**

To examine potential differences in-group composition based on demographic information (i.e. age, race/ethnicity, year in school) a series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted. The descriptive statistics of the collected data were computed, including means, standard deviations, skewness, kurtosis, and so forth. Next, the normality of these data were checked, a requisite condition underlying most of the subsequent statistical procedures, by inspecting their associated skewness and the kurtosis values. Presence of outliers was assessed by examining the leverage, DBETA, and Pearson residual statistics (Menard, 2002).

### **Reliability analyses.**

The reliability of the instruments was calculated by means of Cronbach's alpha, a common measure of test and scale reliability. Specifically, Cronbach's alphas were derived for the study measures in order to gather information regarding the measurement stability and the internal consistency of these instruments.

### **Statistical assumption testing.**

Four statistical assumptions underlying the SEM analyses will be tested to ensure the appropriateness of utilizing the gathered data as the input for the SEM analyses. The first assumption concerns normality that dictates that the score distributions be normally distributed. The second assumption regards linearity that entails the presence of a straight line for any bivariate relationships. The third assumption requires that the data set be free of univariate and multivariate outliers. The fourth assumption demands that the multicollinearity problem be absent for all of the observed variables. To ensure the absence of multicollinearity among predictor variables, the tolerance statistic for each of the independent variables in a linear regression with the other independent and dependent variables were examined. Following guidelines set forth by Menard (2002), a tolerance statistic less than .20 would have been cause for concern and suggest high levels of multicollinearity among the independent variables. Should this have occurred, this will be acknowledged as inflating Type II error, thus concealing the presence of significant effects.

### **Latent variable of entitlement.**

For the purposes of the structural equation model, entitlement was treated as a latent factor, created by combining the effect of the two measures of entitlement described previously, the Entitlement/Exploitativeness subscale of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI), and the Psychological Entitlement Scale (PES). Three is generally the recommended minimum number of observed indicators for a latent factor. However, the observed indicators are scales of eleven and nine items respectively. In addition, the scales correlate strongly,  $r = .64, p < .001$  and could be used interchangeably for the structural model. While factors, like entitlement, are exogenous, indicators are endogenous. Since the indicators are endogenous, their variance must be accounted for by the model. Thus, the two indicators, NPI and PES, have error latent variables included in the structural model, to account for the variance in them not accounted for by the factor of entitlement. All of the other variables in the model were measured variables therefore a path analysis was employed.

### **Primary Data Analysis**

Structural equation modeling (SEM) constituted the principal analytic tool to perform the primary analyses to address the research questions for the current study. Zero-order correlations and descriptive statistics for the variables of interest were calculated to determine if entitlement, authoritarianism, conformity to masculine norms, intrinsic religious orientation, and social dominance orientation are correlated positively with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Amos 20 (Arbuckle, 2006) with maximum likelihood estimation was used to

conduct a path analysis to evaluate the unique relations of entitlement, authoritarianism, conformity to masculine norms, intrinsic religious orientation, and social dominance orientation with anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors and to test the mediating role of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes in links with gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Reaping the benefits of such models as multiple regression, path analysis, and factor analysis, linear SEM emerges as a “useful methodology for specifying, estimating, and testing hypothesized interrelationships among a set of substantively meaningful variables” (Bentler, 1995). Essentially, a *structural equation model*, or alternatively a *full latent variable model*, is composed of a *measurement model* and a *structural model* (Keith, 1999). The former sketches out and examines the connections between observed variables and their underlying latent variables by means of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) whereas the latter illustrates and inspects the interrelationships among latent variables. As compared to other multivariate procedures, this integrated technique offers a number of additional functions, such as adopting a more confirmatory approach that enables inference generating, correcting measurement errors to derive better estimates of parameters, and making possible simultaneous analyses of observed and latent variables (Byrne, 2009). The analysis used a two-step procedure for SEM as described by Weston and Gore (2006).

#### **Confirmatory factor analysis.**

The first step in the structural-modeling analysis was to assess the adequacy of the hypothesized measurement model. It is necessary to demonstrate that the chosen variables reflect the latent factors actually reflect these constructs in a statistically reliable

manner. This was accomplished via a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). In addition, the CFA model provided correlations among the latent factors that are disattenuated for measurement error. These factor intercorrelations permit the first opportunity to examine how the constructs are related, and provided the basis upon which the path model among the factors was built.

In the initial CFA model, the constructs were hypothesized to “cause” or generate the variation in the observed variables. The factor structure of this first model was “pure” in that each observed variable was allowed to load on only one construct. An initial CFA model was run that (a) fixed all factor variances at unity, (b) allowed all latent constructs to correlate freely, and (c) freed all hypothesized factor loadings and constrains all others at zero. Lagrange multiplier modification indexes (Byrne, 2009) were examined for the correlations among pairs of measured-variable residuals to determine if any pairs of measured variables needed to be added to the model. No modifications were indicated from the indexes.

For sample sizes of fewer than 500, comparative fit index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) values greater than .90 and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) values less than .10 suggest an acceptable fit (Weston & Gore, 2006). Fit index values for the measurement model were calculated to ensure they met these guidelines. Correlations among the latent factors were evaluated to determine the relative strength of relations from entitlement, authoritarianism, conformity to masculine norms, intrinsic religious orientation, and social dominance orientation to anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and lesbian- and gay-rejecting and affirming behaviors.

### **Structural model analyses.**

The final stage in the analysis was the creation of a structural, or path, model, which built upon the measurement portion of the measurement model but included regression effects representing unidirectional influences of individual variables or factors across another factor.

This beginning model would have been modified by adding regression paths (based on carefully selected modification indexes that make theoretical sense) and deleting non-significant parameters if that had been indicated by the Lagrange Modification Indexes. Any additions to the model would have been empirically determined and not hypothesized (Byrne, 2009). This structural model could have been overfit by adding parameters, and then deleting non-significant paths. This procedure was suggested by MacCallum (1986) and affords the best results for cross-validation. The final model includes only significant paths. These nonstandard effects yield a more detailed representation of the path structure not readily available in LISREL -type models (Newcomb & Bentler, 1988).

To test the hypothesized mediating role of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes on the links of entitlement, authoritarianism, conformity to masculine norms, and intrinsic religious orientation with anti-lesbian and gay behaviors, nested model comparisons were conducted to compare the fit of three alternative models with that of the original model. First, a comparison of the fit of the original model was conducted, in which direct and indirect paths are freely estimated (i.e., partial mediation), with a model in which the direct relation of the significant independent predictor variable with gay- and lesbian-

rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e., full mediation). The chi-square change for this comparison will be evaluated for statistical significance, which will indicate that constraining the direct authoritarianism–behaviors link significantly reduces model fit and that the original model should be retained. Next, this process will be repeated for replacing gay- and lesbian-rejecting behavior with gay- and lesbian-affirming behavior. This model, with all direct and indirect links freely estimated, will be used to test the significance of indirect relations using a bootstrap procedure. A bootstrap procedure will be used to create 1,000 bootstrap samples from the original data and compute 95% CIs for indirect relations. If the 95% CI does not include 0, then the indirect link will be considered statistically significant at  $p < .05$  (Mallinckrodt, Abraham, Wei, & Russell, 2006; Shrout & Bolger, 2002).

Primary analyses included descriptive statistics of the data, reliability estimation, correlation analysis, and regression analysis to compute indirect effects and path analysis using AMOS. The path analytic approach was utilized to examine the correlation between the variables in multiple hypothesized models. The details of the analyses and the statistical techniques utilized to analyze and report the data are described in the following sections. SPSS 19 was used for descriptive statistics, and reliability analysis. AMOS was used to conduct path analyses.

Means, standard deviations, Cronbach's  $\alpha$ 's, and correlations between all variables examined in this model are presented in Table 2, shown previously. Data from all scales had acceptable levels of internal consistency.

## **Path Analysis**

Path analysis was used to depict the correlation matrices hypothesized in the study and to test the hypothesized causal paths between variables. The Maximum Likelihood (ML) estimation method, in AMOS, was used to estimate path coefficients and model fit. According to Kline (2005), while multiple regression analysis does the same, that is estimate path coefficients, in ML the estimation is simultaneous (p. 125). In ML, estimation of all the parameters in the model are computed at the same time and are iterative, meaning that estimates are repetitively calculated. Furthermore, in ML disturbances or error terms for the unobserved exogenous variables are accounted for. ML estimation is among the most widely used model-fitting estimation method. AMOS 20 was used to test the path models because it includes the ML estimation method and also provides goodness of fit indices. Goodness of fit indices are discussed later on in this section.

A Structural model was used to depict the hypothesized relationships. A structural model is the model that represents the hypotheses of the researcher or that which represents the causal hypotheses (Kline, 2005). Specification of the structural model is the starting point for a path analysis (p. 51). Modification indices were examined to determine if the model needed to be respecified by adding or subtracting paths, however no changes were indicated. A reduced model was used to depict the outcome of the analysis (Ingram, Cope, Harju, & Wuensch, 2000). A path analysis is conducted under the assumptions that:

1. Relations among models are linear, additive, and causal. Curvilinear, multiplicative, or interaction relations are excluded.
2. Residuals are uncorrelated with all other variables and other residuals.
3. The causal flow is in one-direction. That is, there is no reverse causation.
4. The variables are measured on an interval scale.
5. The variables used as predictors are measured without error.

### **Overall Model Fit**

Goodness of fit indices use a comparative approach, place the model of interest or the estimated model somewhere along a continuum; a continuum in which the independent model (a model with unrelated variables) is at one end and the saturated model or full model (a model where all variables are related with each other) at the other (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Model fit was evaluated by examining the following estimates: (1) chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) goodness of fit, (2) root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA: Browne & Cudek, 1993), (3) Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) also known as the Non Normed Fit Index (NNFI), and (4) Comparative Fit Index (CFI: Bentler, 1990). The CFI is considered an excellent statistic for the assessment of model fit that solves some of the problems associated with the chi-square statistic. Byrne (2009), reporting on the work of Bentler, claimed the CFI should be the index of choice among comparative fit measures. Thompson (2000) stated that values greater than .95 should be obtained for correctly specified models and echoed the view that “the CFI should be the fit statistic of choice in SEM research” (p. 270). RMSEA has been termed “one of the most informative criteria in covariance structure modeling” (Byrne, 2009, p. 84). Values near .05 indicate good fit

and values up to .08 reflect adequate model fit. Brown (2006) also recommended the use of the CFI and RMSEA as measures of fit.

Values for the fit indices were as follows: CFI = .995, TFI = .975, and RMSEA = .047 (90% CI: .00, .09). These values exceeded the benchmarks of CFI = .90 and RMSEA = .10 for an acceptable fit (Weston & Gore, 2006). This model accounted for 60% of the variance in lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors and 15% of the variance in gay- and lesbian-affirming behavior. The relative strength of the relationships between the independent variables change when measured simultaneously, as in the path model. The correlations for the independent variables in the path model are presented in Table 3.

Table 3:  
*Correlations Among Independent Variables in the Measurement Model*

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Entitlement	-					
2. Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.31***	-				
3. Conformity to Masculine Norms	.66**	.37***	-			
4. Intrinsic Religious Orientation	-.08	-.51***	-.05	-		
5. Social Dominance Orientation	.48***	.48***	.52***	-.14*	-	
6. Impression Management	-.27***	-.08	-.26***	-.13*	-.31***	-

Note. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

With impression management accounted for, entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism and intrinsic religiosity, but not conformity to masculine norms or social dominance orientation, were related uniquely to anti-gay and lesbian attitudes.

Entitlement and authoritarianism were related positively, while religious orientation showed a negative relationship with lesbian- and gay-rejecting attitudes. Negative

attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men (ATLG) were related uniquely with the measures of behavior, positively to gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors, and negatively with gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors. In addition, there was an additional direct positive link from entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), conformity to masculine norms, and a direct negative link from social dominance orientation (SDO) to lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Finally, there were additional direct negative links from RWA and SDO to lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. These results are indicated in Appendix N and Figure 2.

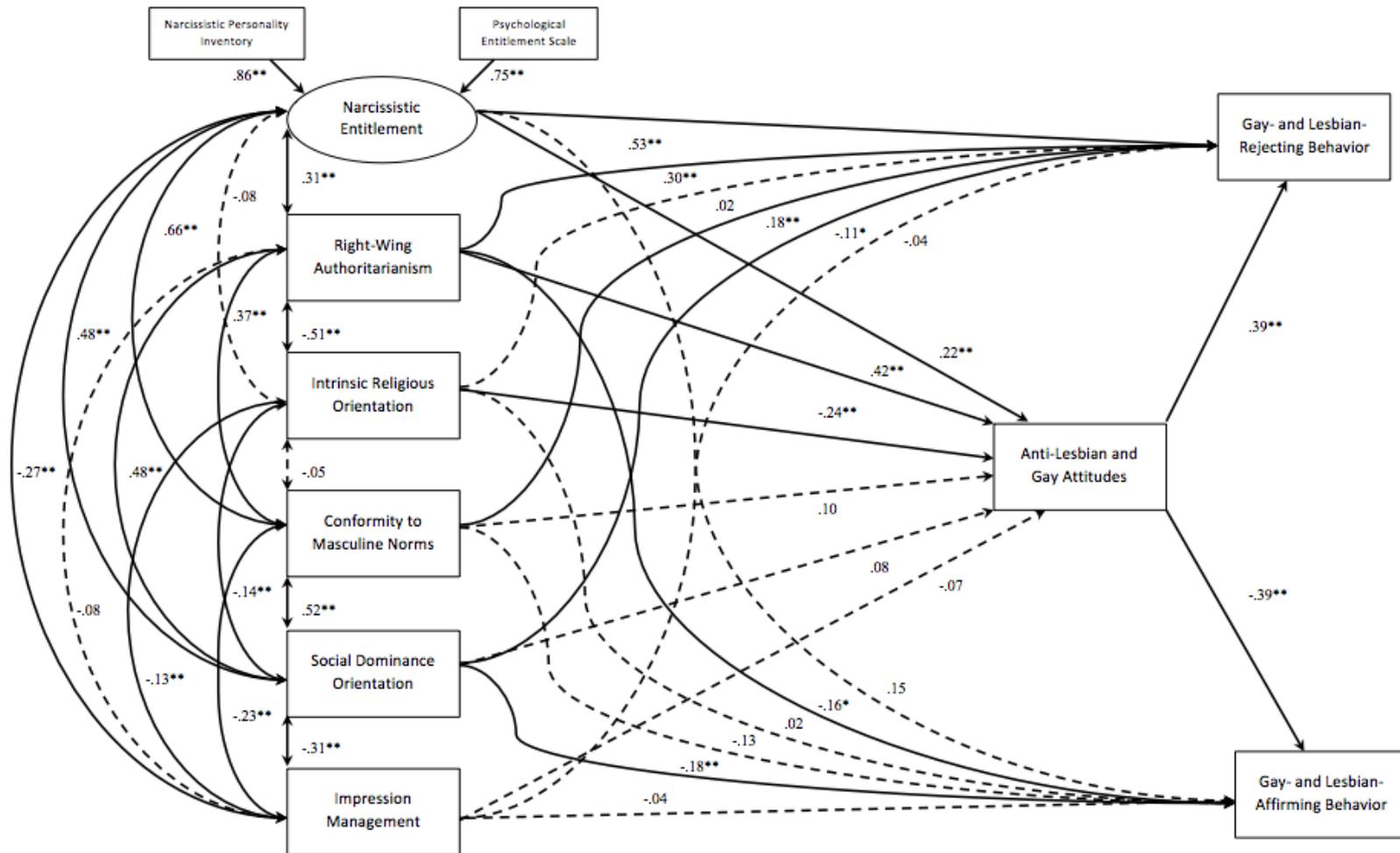


Figure 2. Structural model of relations among variables of interest for lesbian- and gay-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

These results address hypotheses one and two regarding the relationships between the predictor independent variables and the dependent variables measuring ATLG, and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. These results also demonstrate the unique patterns of relations with lesbian- and gay rejecting and affirming behaviors, which were predicted with hypothesis five. All direct, indirect, and total standardized effects from the path model are presented in Table 4.

*Table 4:  
Standardized Effects of the Structural Path Model*

	Entitle	RWA	ROSR	CMNI	SDO	BIDR	ATLG
<b>DIRECT EFFECTS</b>							
Anti-Gay & Lesbian Attitudes	.22***	.42***	-.24**	.10	.08	-.07*	-
Gay- & Lesbian-Rejecting Behaviors	.44***	.11*	.11**	.14*	-.14**	-.01	.39***
Gay- & Lesbian-Affirming Behaviors	.24*	-.07	-.07	-.09	-.15*	-.07	-.39***
Narcissistic Personality Inventory	.75***	-	-	-	-	-	-
Psychological Entitlement Scale	.84***	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>INDIRECT EFFECTS</b>							
Gay- & Lesbian-Rejecting Behaviors	.09***	.16***	-.09***	.04	.03	-.03*	-
Gay- & Lesbian-Affirming Behaviors	-.08***	-.16***	.09***	-.04	-.03	.03*	-

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

*Table 4, cont.:  
Standardized Effects of the Structural Path Model*

	Entitle	RWA	ROSR	CMNI	SDO	BIDR	ATLG
<b>TOTAL EFFECTS</b>							
Anti-Gay & Lesbian Attitudes	.22***	.42***	-.24**	.10	.08	-.07*	-
Gay- & Lesbian-Rejecting Behaviors	.53**	.30***	.02	.18**	-.11*	-.04	.39***
Gay- & Lesbian-Affirming Behaviors	.15	-.16*	.02	-.13	-.18**	-.04	-.39***
Narcissistic Personality Inventory	.75***	-	-	-	-	-	-
Psychological Entitlement Scale	.84***	-	-	-	-	-	-

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

### **Tests of Mediation for Gay- and Lesbian-Rejecting Behaviors**

Hypothesis three concerns whether anti-gay and lesbian attitudes mediate relations of the predictor independent variables (variables of interest) with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Based on the previous findings, the next step in the data analysis was to test this hypothesis, as to whether anti-gay and lesbian attitudes mediated the links of entitlement, RWA, and intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Given that neither SDO, nor conformity to masculine norms were related uniquely to anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, mediation involving SDO and conformity to masculine norms were not examined.

To test these mediations, nested model comparisons were used to compare the fit of four alternative models with that of the original model. First, the fit of the original model, in which direct and indirect paths were freely estimated (i.e., partial mediation), was compared with a model in which the direct relation of entitlement with gay- and

lesbian-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e., full mediation). The chi-square change for this comparison was significant,  $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 354) = 54.49, p < .001$ , indicating that constraining the direct entitlement–rejecting behaviors link significantly reduced model fit and that the original model should be used to calculate the strength of mediation. See Appendix O and Figure 3 for model and direct effects.

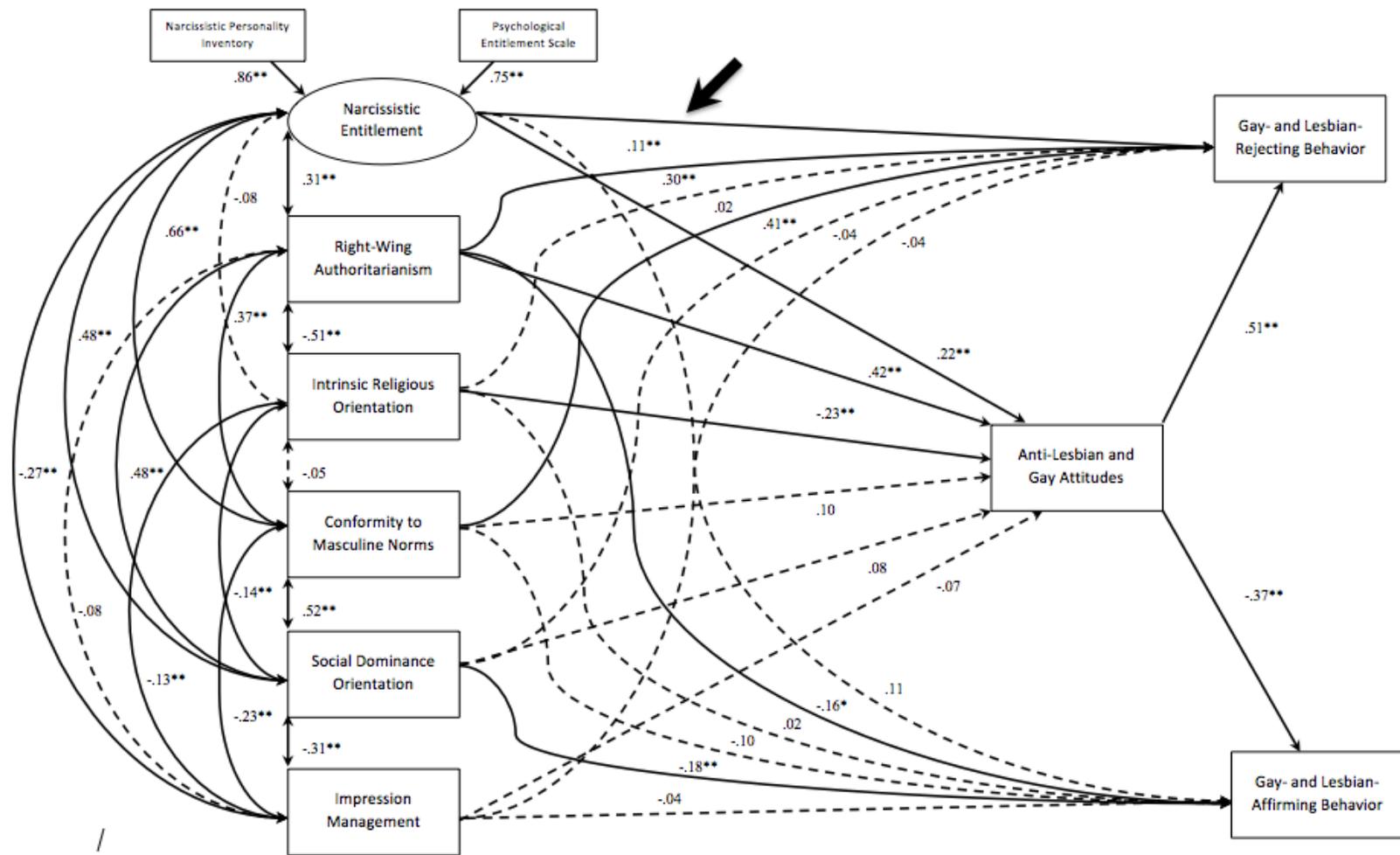


Figure 3. Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of entitlement with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis). Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths.  
 \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Next, the original model (i.e., partial mediation) was compared with a model in which the direct relation of RWA with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero. The chi-square change for this comparison was significant,  $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 354) = 6.41, p < .05$ , indicating that constraining the direct RWA–rejecting behaviors link significantly reduced model fit and that the original model should be used to calculate the strength of mediation. See Appendix P and Figure 4 for model and direct effects.

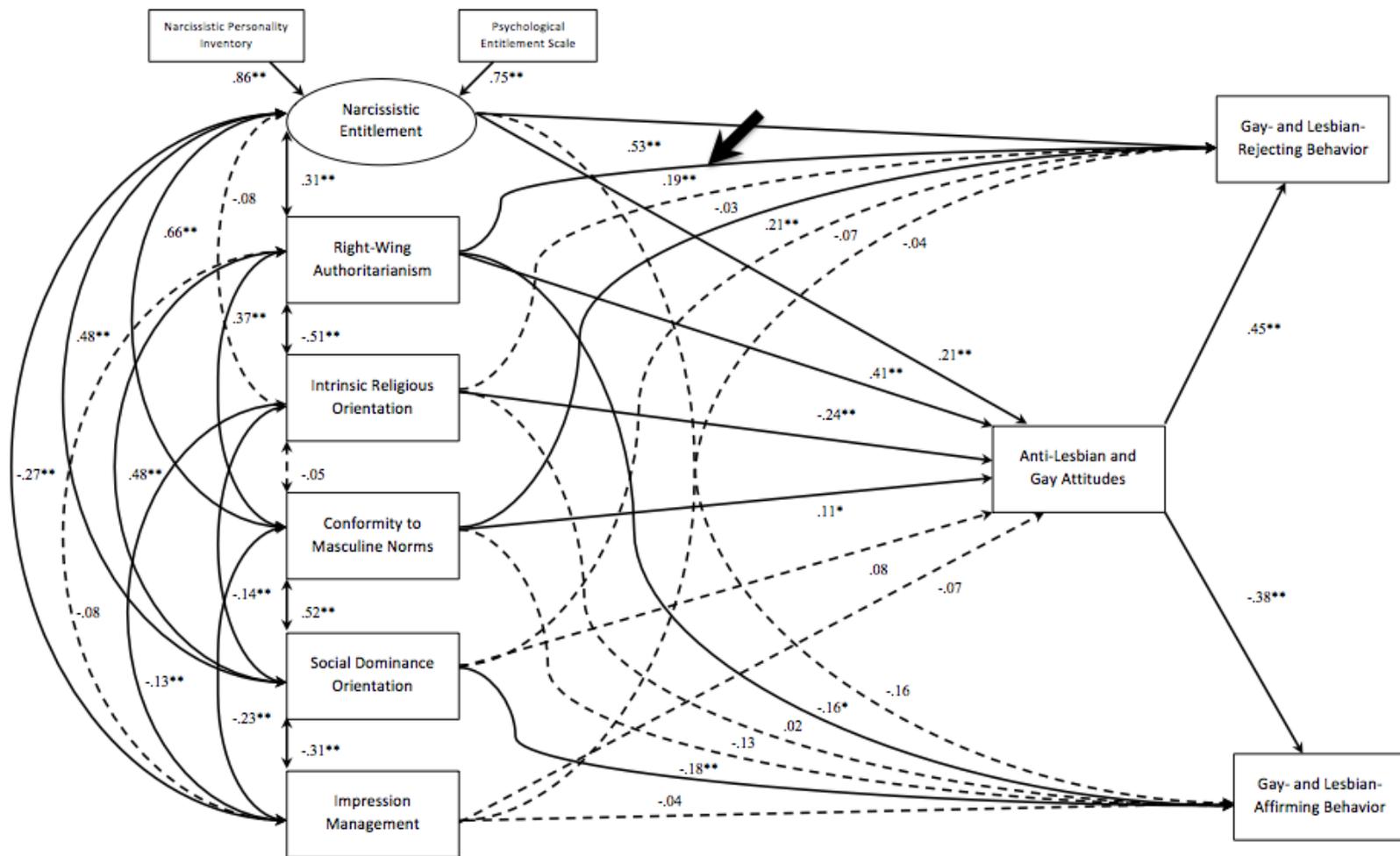


Figure 4. Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of RWA with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis). Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths.  
 \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Third, the original model (i.e., partial mediation) was compared with a model in which the direct relation of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero. The chi-square change for this comparison was significant,  $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 354) = 6.22, p < .05$ , indicating that constraining the direct intrinsic religiosity- rejecting behaviors link significantly reduced model fit and that the original model should be used to calculate the strength of mediation. See Appendix Q and Figure 5 for model and direct effects.

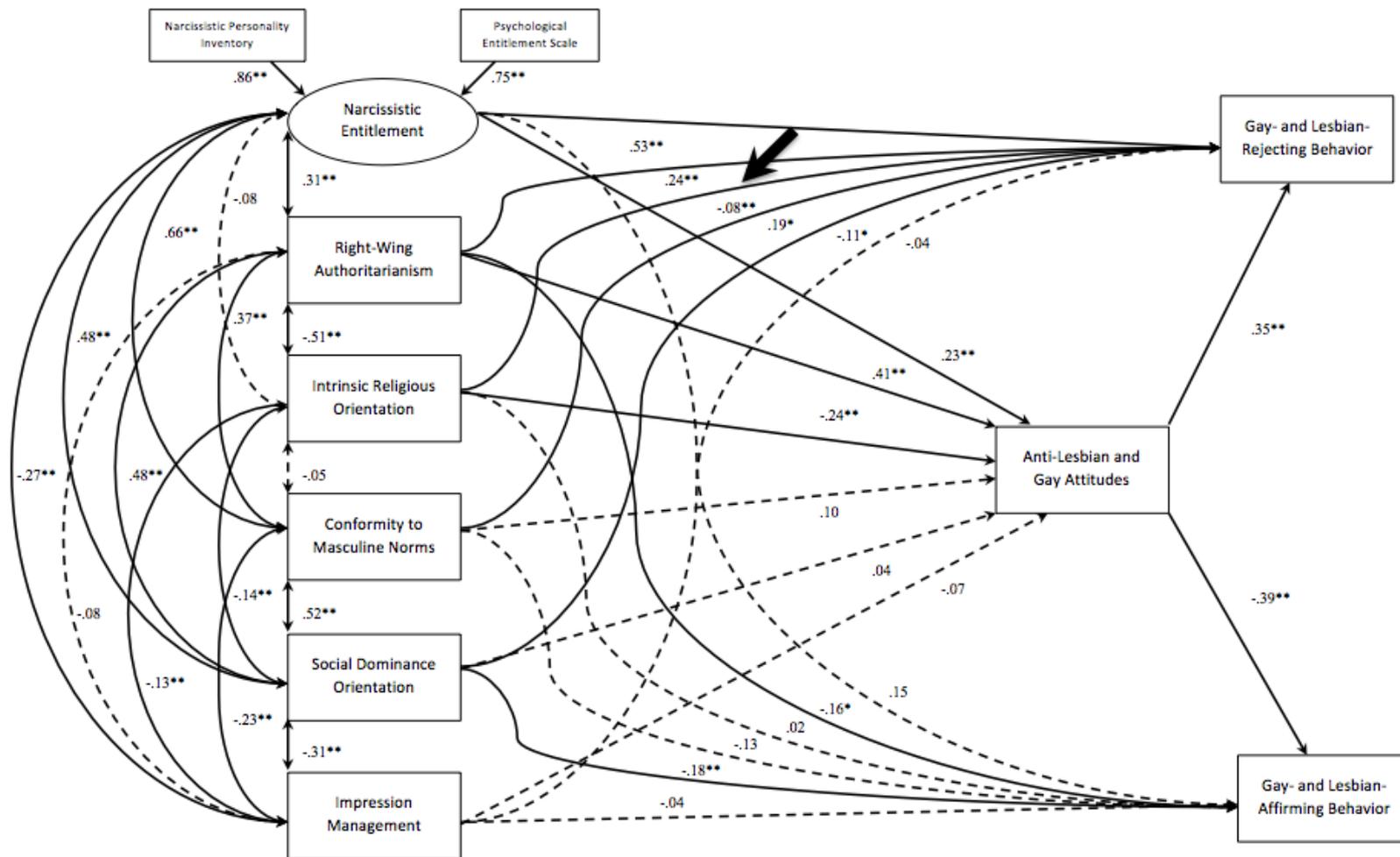


Figure 5. Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis). Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Finally, the original model (i.e., partial mediation) was compared with a model in which the direct relations of entitlement, RWA, and intrinsic religious orientation with gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors were constrained to zero. The chi-square change for this comparison was significant,  $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 354) = 52.72, p < .001$ , indicating that constraining the direct links significantly reduced model fit and that the original model should be used to calculate the strength of the mediations. See Appendix R and Figure 6 for model and direct effects.

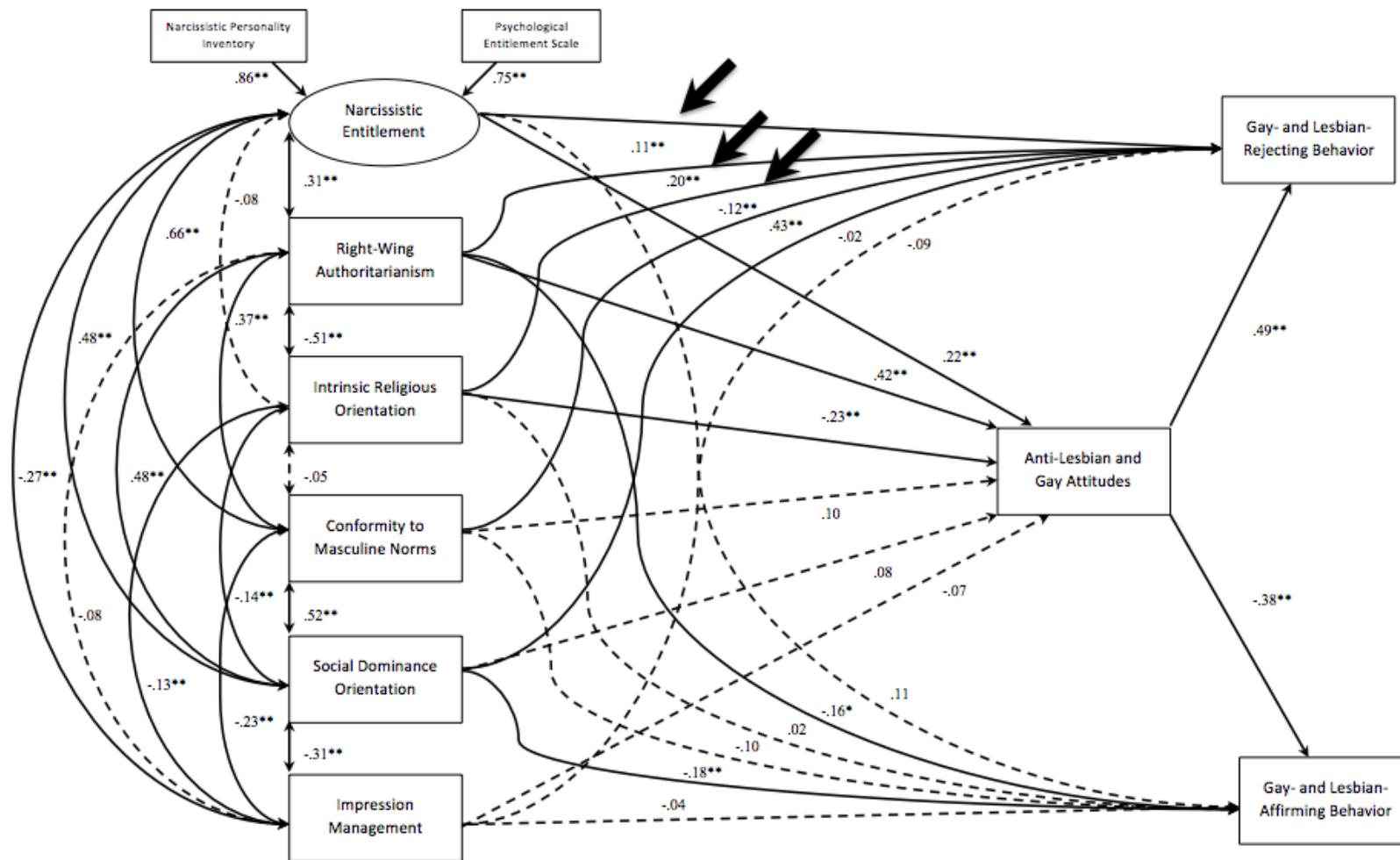


Figure 6. Structural model of relations in which the direct effects of entitlement, RWA, and intrinsic religiosity with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors were constrained to zero (i.e. the direct paths indicated were not included in the model analysis). Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

These results supported the original partial mediation model (see Figure 2) that included direct and indirect relations of entitlement and RWA through anti-lesbian and gay attitudes with gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. Thus, this model, with all direct and indirect links freely estimated, was used to test the significance of indirect relations using a bootstrap procedure. Fit indices for the original and lesbian- and gay-rejecting comparison models are presented in Table 5.

*Table 5:  
Fit Indices for the Original and Lesbian-and Gay-Rejecting Models*

	Full Model	No Entitlement	No RWA	No Religiosity	No Ent/ RWA/Relig.
<b>Fit Index</b>					
$\chi^2/df$	14.3/8 = 1.79	66.5/9 = 7.39	20.7/9 = 2.30	6.2/9 = 2.28	74.0/11 = 6.73
CFI	.995	.959	.992	.992	.955
TLI	.975	.793	.958	.959	.815
RMSEA	.047	.135	.061	.060	.127
$\Delta\chi^2$	-	54.5***	6.4*	6.2*	52.7***

*Note.* N = 354. CFI = Comparative Fit Index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; RMSEA = root mean square estimate of approximation; \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

A bootstrap procedure was used to create 2,000 bootstrap samples from the original data and compute 95% CIs for indirect relations. If the 95% CI does not include 0, then the indirect link is statistically significant at  $p < .05$ . Results indicated that, in addition to the direct links of entitlement and authoritarianism with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, indirect links with gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors through anti-lesbian and gay attitudes were significant for both entitlement (B = 0.09 [95% CI: .05,

.13],  $\beta = .22 \times .39 = .08$ ) and authoritarianism ( $B = 0.16$  [95% CI: .12, .22],  $\beta = .42 \times .39 = .16$ ). Thus, anti-gay and lesbian attitudes significantly mediated the positive links of entitlement and authoritarianism with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Results also indicated that the indirect link of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was significant ( $B = -.09$  [95% CI: -.14, -.06],  $\beta = -.24 \times .39 = -.09$ ). Because direct effects of intrinsic religious orientation on lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors were not significant, anti-gay and lesbian attitudes fully mediated the relationship between religiosity and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors.

To determine the percentage of variance attributable to the mediator of ATLG for each of the statistically significant independent variables, the indirect effect for each variable was divided by the sum of the absolute values of the direct and indirect effects. ATLG accounted for approximately 16% of the effects from entitlement to lesbian- and gay-rejecting behavior. ATLG also accounted for approximately 55% of the effects from RWA to rejecting behavior, and approximately 46% of the effects from intrinsic religiosity to rejecting behavior.

### **Tests of Mediation for Gay- and Lesbian-Affirming Behaviors**

Hypothesis four concerns whether negative attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men (ATLG) mediate relations of the predictor independent variables with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. A test was conducted to determine whether anti-gay and lesbian attitudes mediated the link between entitlement, RWA, and intrinsic religiosity with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. As was the case with the previous tests for mediation, neither SDO, nor conformity to masculine norms were related uniquely to

anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, and as such mediation involving SDO and conformity to masculine norms were not examined.

To test this mediation, nested model comparisons were used to compare the fit of three alternative models with that of the original model. The fit of the original model, in which direct and indirect paths were freely estimated (i.e., partial mediation), was first compared with a model in which the direct relation of entitlement with gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e., full mediation). The chi-square change for this comparison was significant,  $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 354) = 7.60, p < .01$ , indicating that constraining the direct entitlement–affirming behaviors link significantly reduced model fit and that the original model should be used to calculate the strength of mediation. See Appendix S and Figure 7 for model and direct effects.

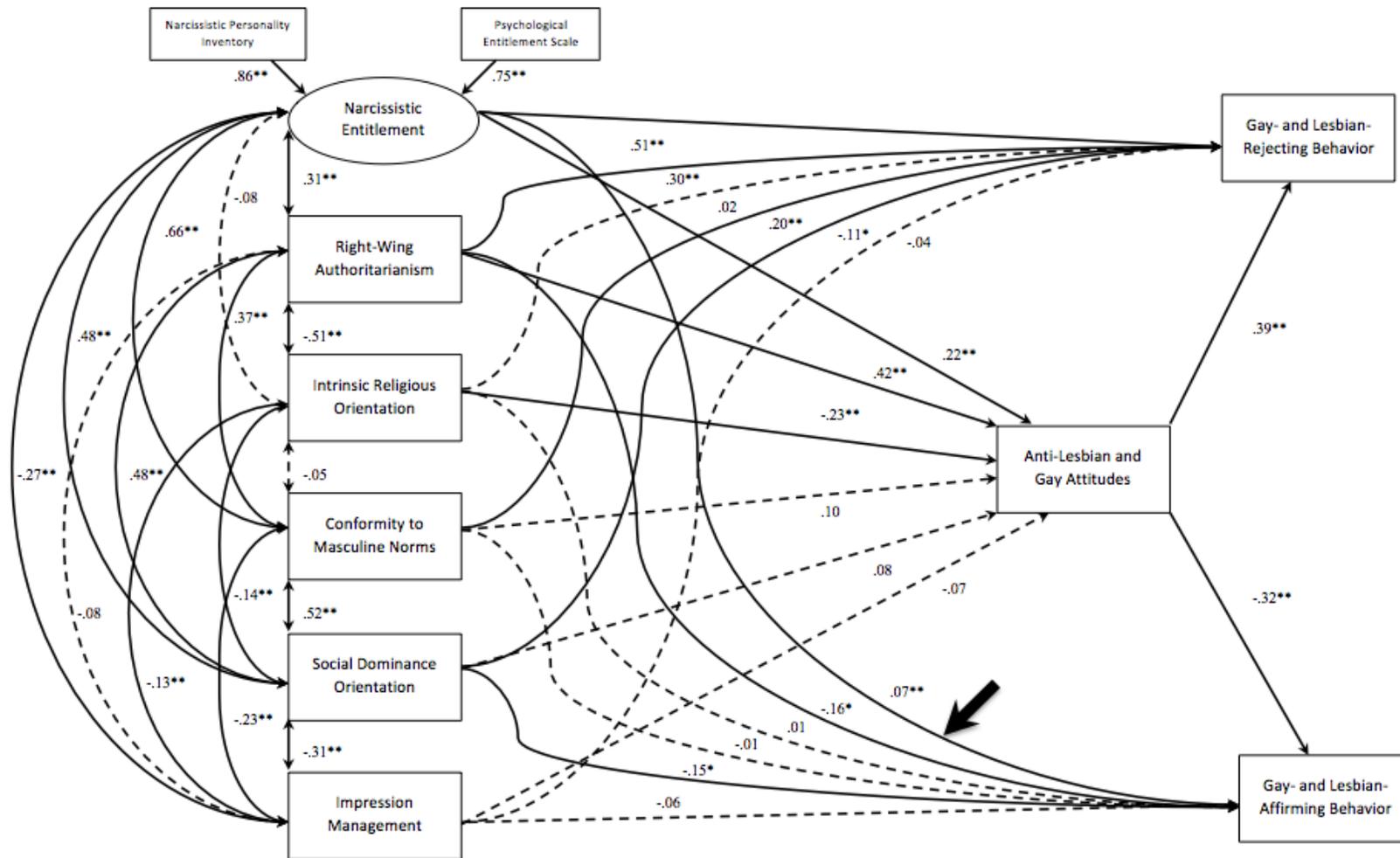


Figure 7. Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of entitlement with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis). Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths.  
 \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Next, the original model (i.e., partial mediation) was compared with a model in which the direct relation of RWA with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e., full mediation). The chi-square change for this comparison was not significant,  $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 354) = 0.004, p \cong .95$ , indicating that constraining the direct RWA–affirming behaviors link did not significantly reduce model fit, signifying the lack of a mediation. See Appendix T and Figure 8 for model and direct effects.

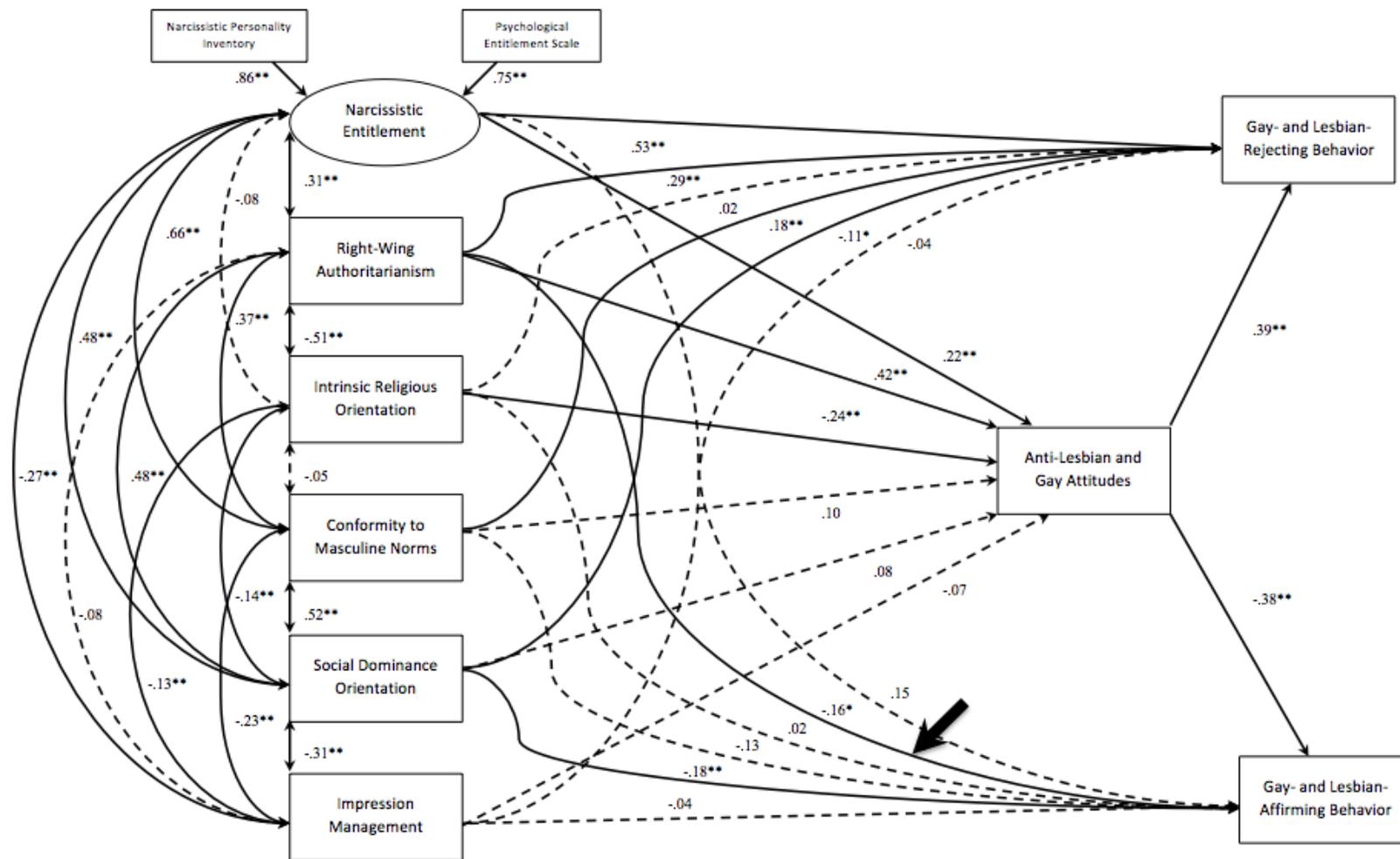


Figure 8. Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of RWA with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis). Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths.  
 \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Finally, the original model (i.e., partial mediation) was compared with a model in which the direct relation of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e., full mediation). The chi-square change for this comparison was not significant,  $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 354) = 1.23, p \cong .27$ , indicating that constraining the direct intrinsic religiosity– affirming behaviors link did not significantly reduce model fit, signifying the lack of a mediation. See Appendix U and Figure 9 for model and direct effects.

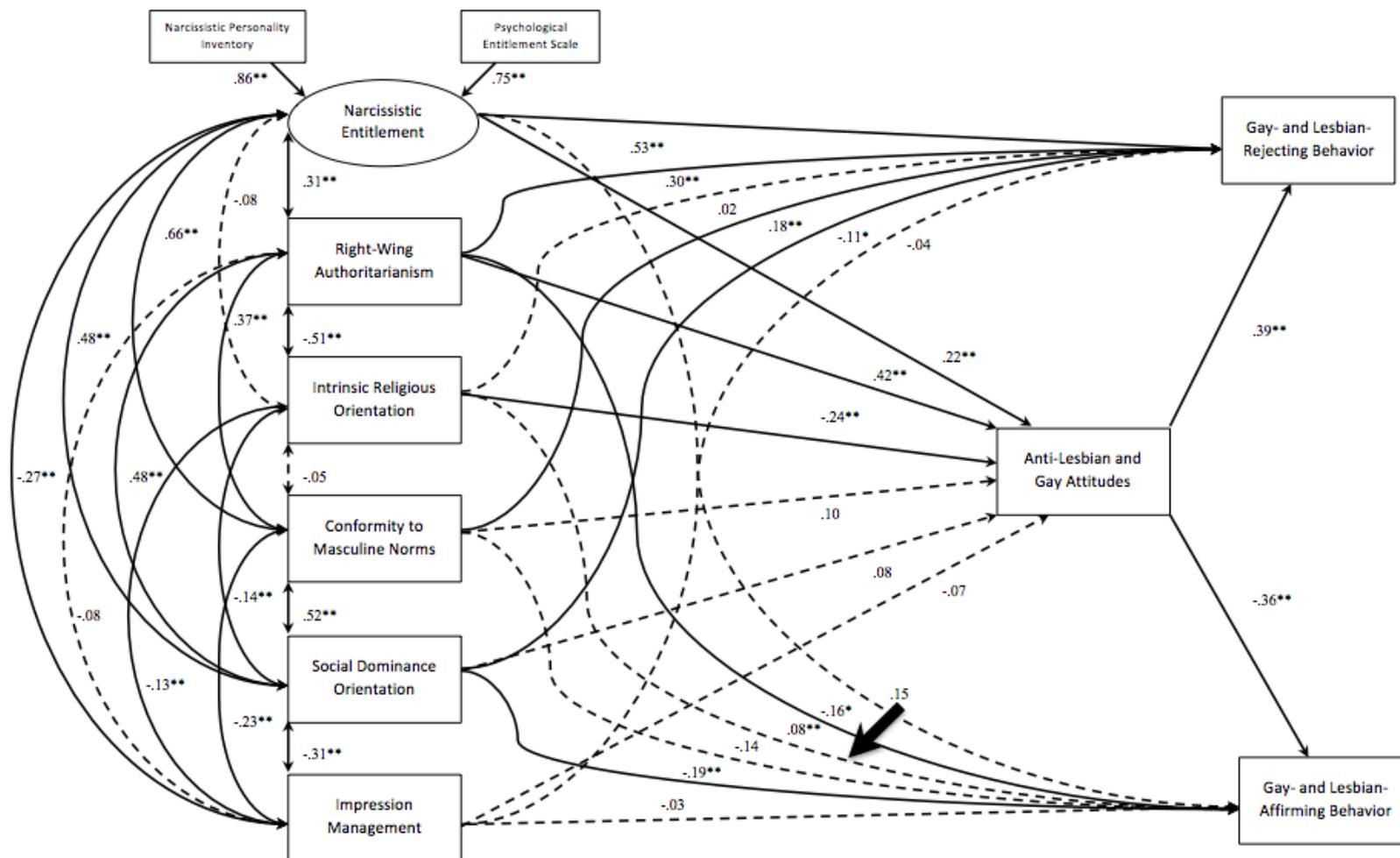


Figure 9. Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis). Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Fit indices for the original and lesbian- and gay-affirming comparison models are presented in Table 6.

Table 6:  
*Fit Indices for the Original and Lesbian-and Gay-Affirming Models*

	Full Model	No Entitlement	No RWA	No Religiosity
<b>Fit Index</b>				
$\chi^2/df$	14.3/8 = 1.79	21.9/9 = 2.43	14.3/9 = 1.59	15.5/9 = 1.73
CFI	.995	.991	.996	.995
TLI	.975	.954	.981	.977
RMSEA	.047	.064	.041	.045
$\Delta\chi^2$	-	7.6**	.004 (NS)	1.23 (NS)

*Note.* N = 354. CFI = Comparative Fit Index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; RMSEA = root mean square estimate of approximation; \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Results of the bootstrap procedure to measure the strength of the indirect link of entitlement with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors were significant ( $B = -.08$  [95% CI:  $-.15, -.04$ ],  $\beta = .22 \times -.39 = -.17$ ). ATLG accounted for approximately 26% of the effects from entitlement to lesbian- and gay-affirming behavior. Because direct effects of entitlement on lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors were not significant, anti-gay and lesbian attitudes fully mediated the relationship between entitlement and lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors.

## Chapter Five: Discussion

The present study extended prior literature by examining narcissistic entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism, conformity to masculine gender norms, intrinsic religious orientation, and social dominance orientation together to determine the relative strength of their associations with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes. Entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and intrinsic religiosity, but not conformity to masculine norms or social dominance orientation (SDO), were related uniquely to negative attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men (ATLG). ATLG was also related uniquely with the measures of behavior, positively to gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors, and negatively with gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors. This study also examined ATLG as a mediator of the links of entitlement, RWA, conformity to masculinity, intrinsic religiosity, and SDO with reported lesbian- and gay- rejecting and -affirming behaviors. ATLG was found to significantly mediate the links of entitlement and RWA with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Results also indicated that the indirect link of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was significant. In addition, ATLG was found to significantly mediate the links of entitlement with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. Such an examination advances research and practice by identifying unique correlates of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and the mechanisms through which they are related to lesbian- and gay-rejecting and -affirming behaviors. Such data can illuminate abundant areas of focus for research and intervention aimed to reduce anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors.

## **Findings Related to Entitlement**

Among the individual difference variables examined in the present study, narcissistic entitlement emerged as consistently and uniquely linked with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes as well as with gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. More specifically, building on prior support for the role of narcissistic entitlement in anti-lesbian and gay attitudes (e.g., Campbell et al., 2004; Exline et al., 2004; Schwartz & Tylka, 2008), in the present study, entitlement was correlated positively with reported anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, meaning that as an individual's level of entitlement increases, so does his likelihood of displaying negative attitudes and behaviors towards lesbian women and gay men. When examined along with RWA, conformity to masculine norms, intrinsic religiosity, and SDO in the path models, entitlement was related uniquely and positively with ATLG, had a significant indirect link with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors through ATLG, and had an additional direct link with rejecting behaviors. Thus, narcissistic entitlement emerged as an important predictor of ATLG and rejecting behaviors in the present study.

Other newly published studies support these findings. McDermott, Schwartz, and Trevathan-Minnis (2012) found that unhealthy entitlement was a significant positive predictor of maladaptive anger management strategies. Golec de Zavala and Cichocka (2012) studied the effect of collective narcissism, a term describing an emotional investment in an unrealistic belief about the greatness of an in-group over an out-group. Their results confirm that collective narcissism predicts prejudice against social out-groups perceived as threatening. They went on to discuss that narcissists' sensitivity to

intergroup threat is composed of beliefs about vulnerability of the in-group and hostility of the out-group. While these studies are not specifically related to attitudes or behaviors towards lesbian women and gay men, they continue to support the understanding of entitlement as a predictor of prejudice or mechanism for potential maladaptive behavior.

The present study went further than previous research in the measurement of narcissistic entitlement. Most prior research has utilized the Entitlement/Exploitativeness (E/E) subscale of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) for the purposes of measurement. However, the E/E subscale has typically demonstrated low reliability, even as it has been used consistently. Other scales have been used to measure entitlement, including the Psychological Entitlement Scale and the Entitlement Attitude Scale, however there has been little consistency in the use of these scales. In order to maintain a high level of reliability the current study created a latent variable of Entitlement for the path model indicated by both the E/E subscale of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and the Psychological Entitlement Scale. This enabled greater reliability in measurement of entitlement, as well as increased statistical power for the path model.

The pattern of results involving entitlement in the current study and other recently published research is consistent with Exline et al.'s (2004) conceptualization of a link between entitlement and behavior related to homophobia can manifest as expressions of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors. Thus, narcissistic entitlement may be important to target in interventions aiming to reduce anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Counselors can work with clients to assess level of

entitlement and to explore the costs and benefits of such a trait for the clients' heterosexual identity and interpersonal relationships with lesbian and gay persons and allies. Assessing and discussing these issues is also important for counselors in training who must learn to work effectively with gay and lesbian clients. Organizational, group, and individual interventions to reduce entitlement might include demonstrating self-affirmation writing assignments and evidence-based exercises created to buttress self-esteem (Thomaes, Bushman, Orobio de Castro, Cohen, & Denissen, 2009). Examining the effectiveness of interventions that reduce narcissistic entitlement in also reducing anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors would build on the present correlational findings to elucidate causal and directional relations of entitlement with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors.

### **Findings Related to Right-Wing Authoritarianism**

In addition to entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) also emerged as an important correlate of negative attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men (ATLG) and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and of gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors, meaning that as an individual's level of authoritarianism increases, so does his likelihood of displaying negative attitudes and behaviors towards lesbian women and gay men. Specifically, consistent with prior research (e.g., Altemeyer, 1981, 1998, 2001; Basow & Johnson, 2000; Whitley & Lee, 2000), RWA was correlated positively with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes. Furthermore, when examined along with entitlement, conformity to masculine norms, intrinsic religiosity, and SDO in the path models, RWA had a positive unique relation with ATLG, and through the mediating role of ATLG it had a positive

indirect link with gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. RWA also had a negative indirect link with gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors, though results were not conclusive that it was through the mediating role of ATLG. In addition to this pattern of relations, an expected direct positive link also was found between RWA and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and negative direct link was found between RWA and lesbian- and gay-affirming behavior. Taken together, the indirect and direct relations involving RWA suggest that authoritarianism may be linked with greater gay- and lesbian- rejecting and affirming behaviors to the extent that it is also linked with anti- lesbian and gay attitudes. Beyond this indirect relation and the overlapping links of entitlement, conformity to masculinity, religiosity, and SDO, however, RWA might actually deter gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. As discussed previously, RWA is conceptualized to include authoritarian submission, conventionalism, and authoritarian aggression (Altemeyer, 1981). Perhaps submission to authorities (e.g., police, religious leaders) and conventionalism, when not translated into anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, prohibit rather than promote anti-gay and lesbian aggression (Goodman & Moradi, 2008).

These findings reaffirm that RWA is an additional important factor to consider in efforts to reduce prejudice, specifically anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and accepting behaviors, but it may not play an important role in lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. Organizational, group, and individual interventions that encourage critical thinking, explore potential costs of relying solely on authorities for guidance, and provide strategies for managing situations in which one's own beliefs and values are in conflict with those of authority figures might help to reduce

authoritarianism (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). The effectiveness of such interventions in also reducing anti-gay and lesbian attitudes can provide needed information about the causal direction between RWA and anti-lesbian and gay attitudes. However, reducing prejudicial attitudes among individuals with high levels of RWA can be challenging because such individuals may be prone to defensiveness when confronted with value incongruent information (Altemeyer, 1994). As such, presenting interventions in a way that attends to characteristics of authoritarianism is essential. For example, because persons with high levels of RWA are receptive to authority figures, it may be useful to have authority figures that intervention targets perceive as legitimate speak against and model disengagement in anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors. Thus, having organizational leaders who are perceived as legitimate authority figures implement or endorse interventions might be useful (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). Similarly, to the extent that clients with high levels of RWA perceive counselors and therapists as legitimate authority figures, counselors can also model attitudes and behaviors that challenge anti-lesbian and gay prejudice and provide examples of other authority figures who challenge such prejudice as well. Again, the perceived legitimacy of authority figures is likely to be important to individuals with high levels of RWA.

### **Findings Related to Social Dominance Orientation**

In the context of the roles of RWA, entitlement, conformity to masculine norms, and religiosity, the present data challenge the unique links of social dominance orientation (SDO) with negative attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men (ATLG) and gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. More specifically, SDO was correlated as

expected with greater anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors. After accounting for the roles of RWA and traditional gender attitudes, however, direct links of SDO with ATLG were non-significant. In addition, direct links of SDO were present with gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Thus, the observed positive correlations of SDO with ATLG may have been subsumed by overlap with entitlement (which has not been examined in previous research), RWA, and intrinsic religiosity. This means that for the current study, the predictive power of entitlement and RWA, is significantly stronger than that of SDO, and that the relationship between SDO and the anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors may be fully mediated by the relationship of RWA and entitlement with the independent variables. As such, entitlement and RWA might be more productive intervention targets than is SDO.

**Dual Group Processes Model in relation to findings of entitlement, RWA, and SDO.**

The Dual Group Processes (DGP) model is a useful tool to understand how entitlement and RWA relate to anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors in different ways. Rather than being individual traits, entitlement, SDO, and RWA are expressions of particular group processes. Some principal features of entitlement are similar to those of SDO (out-group derogation, hierarchy-enhancing creeds, and a competitive worldview). These can be explained in terms of category differentiation. The principal features of RWA (conventionalism, hostility toward social minorities, submission to social authorities, perception of social threats, and a reactionary viewpoint) can be explained in terms of normative differentiation (Kreindler, 2005).

The DGP Model would expect at least two and possibly three distinct generalized prejudice dimensions. One dimension should comprise generalized negativity to “*dangerous*” out-groups seen as potentially socially threatening and not subordinate, and should be related to normative and not category differentiation traits. A second dimension should comprise generalized negativity to “*derogated*” out-groups that are socially subordinate groups low in status and power, but not socially threatening, which should be predicted by category and not normative differentiation traits. Finally, a third dimension encompass generalized negativity to “*dissident*” out-groups that are seen as both socially threatening and also as likely activate competitive feelings over relative power and status (i.e., socially subordinate or in direct competition with the in-group), which should therefore be related to traits representing both normative and category differentiation (Asbrock, Sibley, & Duckitt, 2010; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007). Lesbian women and gay men, members of a sexual minority, represent this third “dissident” type of out-group.

Therefore, based on the results of this study, it can be argued that entitlement and RWA reflect two different routes to sexual prejudice. Entitlement involves the derogation of lesbian women and gay men as members of an out-group who cannot or should not gain competitive advantages. Results support previous research indicating entitlement and exploitative tendencies may represent a particularly high risk factor for aggressive behavior and violence towards individual members of perceived out-groups, like the gay and lesbian community (Bushman et al., 2003; Exline & Bushman, 2004). The results from this study also support that the trait of entitlement exhibits a unique

relationship with attitude and behavior, rapidly converting attitudes demonstrating aggressive tendencies to the perpetration of violent behavior (Reidy et al., 2008). As discussed previously, entitlement involves a rigid adherence to in-group standards, as well as possible violent reactions to members of groups who are perceived as threats to in-group superiority (Reidy et al., 2008). Thus, it would follow that entitled individuals, would be more inclined to take action against those individuals who are perceived to be members of a threatening out-group, like LGBT people.

RWA involves the derogation of lesbian women and gay men as deviant in-group minorities who violate important norms or dilute national culture. As discussed the orientation towards inter- versus intragroup settings is an important distinction and can begin to explain the difference in the strength of correlation for each of these traits with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors.

### **Findings Related to Conformity to Masculine Norms**

The pattern of relations of conformity to masculine gender norms with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, gay- and lesbian-rejecting and –affirming behaviors observed in the current study is surprising. Evidence supported the hypothesis that conformity to masculine norms would have a stronger predictive value for homonegative attitudes and behaviors. The strength of the direct correlation between conformity to masculinity and the attitude and behavior measures was statistically significant, however the strength of the correlation was not significant in the path model, when the other predictor variables were simultaneously included in the model. This can likely be explained by the strong associations between masculinity with entitlement and social dominance orientation.

With respect to entitlement, Schwartz & Tylka (2008) describe the strong association between men who exhibit high levels of narcissistic entitlement with rigid adherence to restrictive gender role norms with respect to success/power/competition and restricted affection between men. They go one to describe how entitlement is conceptualized as a logical extension of internalized sexual and gender role conflict (Schwartz & Tylka, 2008) that impacts men's perceptions of themselves and their interactions with those around them. With respect to SDO, Sidanius and Pratto (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, & Brief, 1995) have described the association between gender role norms and a social dominance orientation. Research describes that men are more politically conservative than women (e.g. Feather, 1977); men score higher on measures of prejudice (Ekehammer, Nilsson, & Sidanius, 1987), anti-egalitarianism (Ekehammer, 1985), authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981, 1996), are less fearful of the prospect of international conflict (Boehnke & Schwartz, 1997), and generally hold more punitive attitudes (Ekehammer, 1985) to name but a few.

Vincent, Parrott, and Peterson (2011) found a significant relationship between the traditional male gender norms of status, toughness, and anti-femininity with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, and gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. Goodman and Moradi (2008) found a significant relationship between traditional gender role attitudes with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors. However, neither of these models included entitlement, a new trait to associate with homonegativity. Vincent et al., (2011) did not include authoritarianism, or social dominance orientation in their study. Given the results of the current study, it is possible

that the inclusion of entitlement, or at the very least authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, would mediate the predictive role of gender role conformity in anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting and affirming behaviors.

More recently, McDermott, Schwartz, and Trevathan-Minnis (2012) found that unhealthy entitlement (narcissistic and exploitative) may be an independent predictor of anger management, moderating the relationship between acceptance of traditional gender roles and self-awareness of rising anger in heterosexual men. While the study focused on anger management in the context of intimate relationships, it provides strong evidence that entitlement may be an important mediator in the relationship between gender role acceptance and conformity in men. Unhealthy entitlement predicted a significant portion of the variance in maladaptive anger management strategies above and beyond that of gender role adherence. This suggests that entitlement could have a stronger role than gender norm conformity in predicting negative attitudes and the management of maladaptive behaviors towards others. The authors point out that additional investigations are needed to determine the etiology of entitlement attitudes and how they impact men's functioning. It seems that the current study takes an important step in that direction, though more investigation is needed.

SDO likely also accounted for much of the variance in the relationship between gender norm conformity and homonegative attitudes and behavior. This potential overlap, with the strength of SDO accounting for gender role conformity speaks to the role of masculine norms as desiring in-group dominance. Pratto and Stewart (2012) demonstrated that SDO is not just "in-groupism," or it would correlate equally in all

groups with in-group identification and in-group promotion. Rather, it is general endorsement of group hierarchy. People in dominant and subordinated groups identify more with dominant groups and promote greater power for dominant groups

Members of dominant groups, like men and heterosexuals, tend to have higher levels of social dominance orientation than members of subordinated groups. This has been confirmed for every type of group distinction. Men were higher on dominance orientation than women, European Americans were higher than Hispanic Americans and African Americans, and straight people were higher than gays, lesbian women, and bisexuals (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). Therefore, to the extent that a man adheres to traditional masculine traits, including dominance of heterosexual men over women and homosexuals, he is likely to be high in social dominance orientation. Considering the significant evidence that a dominance orientation has been linked consistently with anti-gay and lesbian attitudes (Altemeyer, 1998; Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Egisdóttir, 2000; Whitley & Lee, 2000) it seems extremely likely that social dominance orientation at least partially mediate the connection between conformity to masculine norms and homonegative attitudes and behaviors in the analysis of the path model.

Vincent et al., (2011) found that male role norms differ from each other in how they associate with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, demonstrating that not all aspects of masculine identity correlate with homonegative attitudes and behaviors in the same way. Future research should also consider different elements of masculinity, and how each relates to independent variables, as distinct aspects of gender-conforming identity may relate differently than overall masculinity. An important implication of the

current study is that future research utilizing the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory should control for social dominance orientation, and possibly for narcissistic entitlement, depending on the nature of the study.

### **Findings Related to Intrinsic Religiosity**

One of the most complex findings in the psychology of religion is the link between intrinsic religiosity and prejudice. Intrinsic religiosity seemed a promising variable to include in the study based on prior literature. Though it was not highly correlated with the measures of narcissism and gender role adherence, it was significantly related to RWA, SDO, and the measures of attitude and behavior towards lesbian and gay men. The pattern of results confirms that the relationship between religiosity and prejudice is somewhat paradoxical. What is most interesting is the results would indicate that when an individual reports greater intrinsic religiosity, they report lower levels of ATLG, and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behavior, and greater levels lesbian- and gay-affirming behavior. In the path model, the relationship with the behavior measures was no longer significant for religiosity, however the negative relationship with anti-gay and lesbian attitudes proved to be statistically significant.

A few studies have complicated even further the already complex findings about intrinsic religiosity and prejudice. When multiple regression or partial correlation approaches are used, a lack of a connection or a negative correlation of intrinsic religiosity with anti-gay and lesbian prejudice has been found (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 1993; Rowatt & Franklin, 2004). However in these studies the bivariate relationships revealed that intrinsic religiosity was associated with increased hostility towards homosexual

people. It was only when other interrelated predictor variables, such as RWA and religious fundamentalism, were included in the models that the nature of the original prejudice-religiosity relationship was masked. These and other findings have prompted one prominent scholar to lament that inconsistencies in the religiosity-prejudice relationship are “hardly surprising” and that it is “not unusual for statistical trends inexplicable to reverse themselves” (Wulff, 1997, p. 233).

While meta-analyses have indicated positive relationships between religiosity and sexual prejudice (Whitley, 2009), part of this paradox could be attributable to third variables. Leak and Finken (2011) recently found that Religious Commitment, a factor partially indicated by intrinsic religiosity, was positively related to anti-gay and lesbian prejudice in a structural equation model. They acknowledge that their model looked only at relationships between religiousness and prejudice and did not examine any possible mediating or moderating factors or differences in personality among subjects (Leak & Finken, 2011). Rigid ideological beliefs often associated with religiosity, such as RWA and religious fundamentalism, could be mediating the relationship between religiosity and prejudice. Indeed, the correlation between intrinsic religiosity and RWA was quite strong at  $-.51$ , though the negative valence is, again, quite interesting. RWA has been associated with rigid or inflexible cognition, as well as need for structure and a greater reliance on heuristic processing (Kimmelmeier, 2010). Because not all religious individuals think less complexly, individuals’ general religiosity may not be what accounts for prejudiced attitudes among religious individuals. Rather, rigid ideologies often associated with religiosity and responsible for how some religious individuals

practice their faith in a closed-minded manner may account for prejudiced attitudes (Johnson, et al., 2011).

A recently published study was one of the first to demonstrate the strong association consistently observed between practiced, internalized religiosity and homosexual prejudice may be fully mediated by cognitively rigid ideologies, religious fundamentalism, and RWA (Johnson, et al., 2011). Marvor and Gallois (2008) argue for a two-component factor structure of homosexual prejudice: (1) a group component, which shares a path with group prejudices such as racism and sexism and (2) a moral component, which shares a path with moral prejudices such as attitudes towards abortion. By examining the relationship of established mediators, like RWA and religious fundamentalism, between religiosity and a two-component structure of homosexual prejudice, it might be possible to parse out what factors best mediate the path between religiosity and the group and moral components of sexual prejudice (Johnson, et al., 2011). This type of analysis would allow future researchers to clarify if some dimensions of religiousness promote intolerance towards lesbian women and gay-men due to group, moral, or both types of prejudice.

### **Attitude-Behavior Link**

Overall, the model examined in the present study accounted for a substantial amount of variance in anti-gay and lesbian attitudes (75%). The fact that the attitudinal variables (i.e., entitlement, RWA, conformity to masculine norms, intrinsic religiosity, and SDO) accounted for more variance in an attitudinal criterion variable (i.e., anti-lesbian and gay attitudes) than in the behavioral criterion variables (i.e., gay- and lesbian-

rejecting and -affirming behaviors) is not surprising. Still, the amounts of variance accounted for in reported lesbian- and gay-rejecting (60%) and affirming behaviors (15%) also are notable and are considered large effect sizes (Cohen, 1988). A meta-analysis of 1,001 attitude-behavior effect sizes (Wallace, Paulson, Lord, & Bond, 2005) provides a context for interpreting the amount of variance accounted for in anti-gay and lesbian behaviors in the present study. Specifically, Wallace et al. found that the average attitude-behavior correlation in psychological research was .41 (95% CI:  $r = .407-.413$ ). This average was slightly lower when the attitude was about a group, individual, issue, or other target ( $r = .39$ ) than when it was about a behavior ( $r = .42$ ); and the average was slightly higher when, as in the present study, it was with self-reported behaviors ( $r = .42$ ) rather than observed behaviors ( $r = .36$ ). Squaring these correlations to reflect the amount of variance accounted for results in values of 13% to 18% of variance in behaviors accounted for by attitudinal variables. Thus, the squared multiple correlations, or amounts of variance that the present study's set of variables together accounted for in reported lesbian- and gay-rejecting (60%) and gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors (15%), exceed the pattern of effect sizes observed by Wallace et al. for single attitudinal predictors.

Focusing specifically on the link between anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and anti-lesbian and gay behaviors in the present study, the findings support the connection of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes with lesbian- and gay-rejecting and affirming behaviors. Consistent with prior findings (e.g., Alden & Parker, 2005; Franklin, 2000; Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Patelet al., 1995; Whitley, 2001), anti-lesbian and gay attitudes were

related to reported gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors and also mediated the links of RWA and traditional gender attitudes with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors. Longitudinal and experimental studies can build on these findings and evaluate the directional and causal role of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes in shaping lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors by examining whether interventions that reduce anti-gay and lesbian attitudes lead to subsequent reduction of lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors.

The results of the present study also add to prior mixed support for the link between reported anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors (e.g., Bieschke & Matthews, 1996; Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Matthews et al., 2005; Schope & Eliason, 2000). In the present study, anti-gay and lesbian attitudes were correlated moderately with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors, but when the roles of entitlement, RWA, conformity to masculinity, intrinsic religiosity, SDO, and anti-gay and lesbian attitudes were considered together in the path model, only RWA, SDO, and ATLG had unique relations with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. As described previously, high levels of RWA, SDO, and ATLG were related to low reports of gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors, suggesting the importance of future attention to the conversion of attitude to behavior. Additional research is needed, however, to improve understanding of other factors that promote and discourage lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors.

The different pattern of relations with gay- and lesbian-rejecting and -affirming behaviors observed in the present study is consistent with conceptualizations of lesbian- and gay-rejecting and -affirming attitudes and behaviors as components of different

formulations of heterosexual identity. Specifically, gay- and lesbian-rejecting attitudes and behaviors have been posited to reflect unexamined commitment to compulsory heterosexuality, whereas lesbian- and gay-affirming attitudes and behaviors have been posited to reflect actively explored and integrated heterosexual identity (Mohr, 2002; Worthington et al., 2002). Thus, efforts to reduce gay- and lesbian-rejecting attitudes and behaviors and efforts to increase lesbian- and gay-affirming attitudes and behaviors in organizations, groups, and individuals may need to focus on some shared (e.g., authoritarianism) and also some unique intervention targets.

To this end, an important area for building on the present findings is to identify other unique correlates of gay- and lesbian-rejecting and -affirming attitudes and behaviors. Attention to contextual variables, such as contact with lesbian and gay persons and pressure for youthful thrill seeking, which also have been linked to anti-gay and lesbian behaviors (Franklin, 1998; Schope & Eliason, 2000), may be a productive addition to studying personal individual difference variables.

While the current study found results that were consistent with prior research, Vincent et al., (2011) found that anti-lesbian and gay attitudes fully mediated the effects of religious fundamentalism and traditional male gender norms on gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors. Similarly, Goodman and Moradi (2008) found similar results, though they also found that the link between anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors, while having a negative valence, was not statistically significant. Results of the current study are similar in regards to the relationship between homonegative attitudes and rejecting behaviors. However, results diverge from previous

research in that results demonstrated a significant link between homonegative attitudes, and affirming behaviors.

Vincent et al., (2011) identified antigay anger as a critical mediator of the effect of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes on rejecting behavior towards gay men and lesbian women. This finding was consistent with prior results (Parrott & Peterson, 2008; Parrott et al., 2008). Their findings suggest that some heterosexual men will become angered by and punish men and women who do not conform to normative expectations—regardless of those targets' actual sexual orientation. Indeed, these gender-based acts of aggression likely function to demonstrate the perpetrator's heterosexual identity and enforce traditional societal norms (Herek, 1988; Kite & Whitley, 1998). The presence of an established mediator between homonegative attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting behavior, demonstrates the necessity to identify what factors may be mediating the link between homonegative attitudes and lesbian- and gay-affirming behavior. Also, future research should continue to examine lesbian- and gay-affirming attitudes in addition to anti-gay and lesbian attitudes. It is possible that lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors are linked more strongly with affirming behaviors, than are anti-lesbian and gay attitudes. Further development and evaluation of measures of lesbian- and gay-affirming attitudes would facilitate exploration of this possibility (Goodman & Moradi, 2008).

### **Study Limitations**

A limitation in the current study is that the present results regarding lesbian- and gay-rejecting and -affirming behaviors reflect self-reported behaviors and, as such, are subject to participants' awareness and willingness to report their behaviors. Self-reported

gay- and lesbian-rejecting and -affirming behaviors were correlated with impression management in the present study. Therefore, it is possible that participants did not report or were not aware of all of their lesbian- and gay-rejecting and -affirming behaviors. For example, rejecting behaviors might include creating more personal distance or avoiding eye contact with gay and lesbian persons, but perpetrators might not be aware that they are engaging in such actions. Assessing observable behaviors in laboratory contexts might reduce some limitations of self-report measures of behaviors toward lesbian and gay persons. But behaviors that can be assessed in laboratory contexts are limited in nature and duration. Thus, accumulation and integration of data across studies that use self-report measures of behaviors and studies that assess observable behaviors can test the stability and robustness of the present findings.

It was important that all variables in the present study were measured at the individual level. Considering that violence toward gay men and lesbian women represents extreme manifestations of dominant cultural views, examination of societal norms at the structural level may provide further insights into how these cultural factors set the stage for violence toward gay men and lesbian women and other stigmatized groups. For example, authoritarian norms may be evaluated in future research at the institutional level to clarify their role in the enactment of rejecting attitudes and behavior toward gay men and lesbian women.

Using a student population from traditional colleges and universities may hinder generalizability as well. These results may not generalize to other age groups, individuals who attended non-traditional institutions, or those who did not attend college.

In addition, given the nature of this student sample, it is likely that more than half will identify as White, and most will identify as middle or upper middle class. Thus, future studies will be needed to examine the generalizability of the results to participants of other ages, races/ethnicities, educational backgrounds, and social classes. To capture a broader range of anti-gay and lesbian behaviors, it may also be useful to explore the generalizability of the present findings with samples that include persons known to have engaged in aggressive anti-lesbian and gay behaviors, such as those who have committed anti-gay and lesbian hate crimes (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). Research findings across diverse samples can elucidate the replicability of the present results.

Further, certain limitations occur when conducting a correlational study. Homonegativity and sexual prejudice are multi-determined phenomena; therefore, any number of factors could influence the materialization of these patterns. Presence of authoritarianism, dominance orientation, and religious orientation were examined due to their established connections with anti-lesbian and –gay attitudes and behaviors, but additional factors known to be associated with homonegativity and sexual prejudice, such as age, class, and level of education, may also influence the predictive effect of entitlement or conformity to masculine norms on anti-lesbian and –gay attitudes and behaviors. Thus, results from the study should be considered exploratory, and the significant results signify a need for additional research to provide further empirical support for the connections that emerged in this study. Similarly, the term “predictor” should be interpreted with caution, because the correlational nature of the present study does not allow the establishment of causal or temporal order. Further investigations may

want to examine these constructs in a cohort or longitudinal design, and investigators should test these effects in an experimental design. Additionally, because conformity to masculine norms fell out of the analysis on the path model, and because the present study did not include a comparison sample of women, and because both men and women can be highly entitled, and exhibit negative attitudes and rejecting and affirming behaviors in relation to lesbian women and gay men, future research should determine if these results are gender-specific.

Also in terms of gender differences, the current study examined sexual prejudice in general to focus on the same measures used in previous research. However, studies by Herek (e.g., 2000, 2002) indicate that especially for heterosexual men's prejudice, a clear distinction is made between lesbian women and gay men. Separating attitudes toward lesbian women from attitudes toward gay men may provide a more accurate, albeit complex picture of patterns of prejudice (Leak & Finken, 2011).

Finally, another important area for future research is to advance understanding of the correlates of anti-bisexual attitudes and behaviors by attending to the unique manifestations of such prejudice. Much of the prior research has focused on anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors without attending to the experiences of bisexual persons. As such, it is inappropriate to subsume anti-bisexual attitudes and behaviors in the present study because (a) prior research in which this study is grounded focused centrally on the correlates of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors, and (b) anti-bisexual attitudes might differ in important ways from anti-gay and lesbian attitudes (e.g., Mohr & Rochlen, 1999). The nature, predictors, and outcomes of anti-lesbian and gay attitudes

and behaviors cannot be assumed to be transferable to anti-bisexual attitudes and behaviors. For example, some lesbian and gay as well as some heterosexual persons may perceive bisexuality as a transitional rather than a legitimate sexual orientation (Mohr & Rochlen, 1999). Thus, future programmatic research should focus on bisexual persons' experiences, attending to the unique manifestations of anti-bisexual attitudes and behaviors, and identifying the correlates of such attitudes and behaviors rather than assume that these experiences can be subsumed within the literature about lesbian and gay persons.

Despite these limitations and needed directions for future research, the present study can inform future research and intervention efforts that aim to reduce anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors. Overall, findings of this study point to the importance of the relations of entitlement, authoritarianism, and religious orientation with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes, and of entitlement, authoritarianism, conformity to masculine norms, and dominance orientation with gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors of college men. In addition, these results demonstrate a negative unique relation between authoritarianism, dominance orientation, and anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. The present data raise questions, however, about the relative importance of conformity to masculine norm and dominance orientation in anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, of religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors, and of entitlement, religious orientation, and conformity to masculine norms in gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors.

## **Implications**

### **Implications for civil rights legislation.**

In recent years, the struggle for equality in civil rights for gay men and lesbian women has come to the forefront of American social and political discourse. Yet, as the debate over gay and lesbian civil rights plays out in the nation's courts and legislatures, negative attitudes toward homosexuality are still prevalent in our society (e.g. Herek, 2000). Americans are becoming increasingly supportive of civil rights for gays and lesbians (Brewer, 2003); however, individuals' attitudes toward homosexuality continue to reflect moral disapproval (Sherrill & Yang, 2000). Hence, people's attitudes toward homosexuality may not necessarily reflect how they feel about civil rights for gays and lesbians (Ellis, Kitzinger, & Wilkinson, 2002).

A recent Gallup Poll found that many Americans continue to hold negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians. Of the 1,017 national adults surveyed, 48% stated that homosexual relations were morally wrong, 40% stated that homosexuality should not be considered an acceptable alternative lifestyle, and 40% stated that homosexual relations between consenting adults should be illegal (Saad, 2008). However, Gallup also found that 67% of their respondents supported extending federal hate crime protections to gays and lesbians, 89% supported equal rights in terms of job opportunities, and 69% supported allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military. Support for same-sex marriage and adoption rights were less pronounced. Only 40% of respondents believed that same-sex marriages should be recognized by the law and extended the same

rights as “traditional” marriage; however, 54% believed that gays and lesbians should be legally able to adopt children (Gallup Organization, 2009).

These public opinion polls suggest that there are psychosocial factors that lead individuals to hold negative attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men, but that may not lead them to oppose equal civil rights for these same individuals. Studies, like this one, that help define these factors can be imperative for advocates and activists working to provide quality for LGBTQ individuals in the United States. Results of the current study demonstrate that factors such as intrinsic religiosity might be poor predictors of an individual voting against the extension of enhanced civil rights to sexual minorities, while factors such as narcissistic entitlement and right-wing authoritarianism may be strong predictors of individuals willing to take action to limit these same civil liberties. Gay and lesbian civil rights is likely to be a controversial issue for the foreseeable future, and more empirical research is needed to identify the barriers to attaining equal rights and protections for gay and lesbian individuals (Brown & Henriquez, 2011).

### **Implications for therapeutic practice.**

In 1975, the American Psychological Association (APA) adopted a resolution that stated "homosexuality per se implies no impairment in judgment, stability, reliability, or general social or vocational capabilities" (Conger, 1975, p. 633). This resolution followed a rigorous discussion of the 1973 decision by the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from its list of mental disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 1974). More than 35 years later, the implications of this resolution have yet

to be fully implemented in practice. There is a need for better education and training of mental health practitioners in this area.

In 2000, the APA released its “Guidelines for Psychotherapy With Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients” (American Psychological Association, 2000). They were intended to facilitate the continued systematic development of the profession and to help ensure a high level of professional practice by psychologists. When working with clients representing sexual minorities, responsible practitioners should consider these guidelines and how they direct them in the provision of their services. One section of the document guides psychologists to understand the ways that social stigmatization poses a risk to lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients, and also to consider how their own individual attitudes may be relevant to their work with clients. Another section addresses the relationships and families of lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals and the ways that these relationships are complicated by social influence. A third section addresses issues of diversity and encourages psychologists to consider the unique experiences of bisexual individuals and challenges related to the intersection of multiple identities of sexual minority clients. The APA is asking practitioners and researchers to develop greater competency through enhanced education and reflection. Yet, this kind of reflection must be undertaken with an understanding of what factors might be problematic for practitioners as they work with lesbian and gay clients. The current study provides a greater understanding of factors for psychologists to consider in their self-reflection, as well as areas to think about when considering the influence of society on their lesbian, gay, or bisexual clients.

***The intersection of sexuality and masculinity in therapy.***

Traditional approaches to psychotherapy have been demonstrated as insensitive to the unique experiences of minority populations (Casas & Corral, 2000). It is only recently that researchers began to consider that these approaches might also be insensitive to the unique experiences of men (e.g. Addis & Mahalik, 2003). Admittedly, the privilege afforded men on the basis of their gender coupled with the degree to which the majority of counseling theories were developed from a European American male perspective makes it difficult to consider men as being disadvantaged (Wester, 2008). Men in general, and heterosexual European American men specifically, experience a great deal of societal advantage as compared to women, people of color, and sexual minorities (e.g. Goodwin & Fiske, 2001). However, as stated previously, research spanning more than 25 years demonstrates that certain aspects of the socialized male gender role exact psychological consequences on some men in addition to that privilege (e.g. Cochran & Rabinowitz, 2002). This should not be taken as an excuse for what Bly (1990) labeled the *dark side of masculinity*, but it should suggest that counseling psychologists wishing to be multiculturally competent in their work consider the extant literature on masculinity as worthy of attention (Liu, 2005; Wester, 2008).

Counseling psychologists are well aware of their need to address issues such as homophobia in their work with gay men, lesbians women, bisexual, and transgender clients. When it comes to specifically counseling gay or bisexual men, counseling psychologists must be aware of their own misconceptions and biases regarding both sexuality and the intersection of sexuality and masculinity. While it may seem obvious,

given the pervasive nature of heterosexist beliefs in today's society, counseling psychologists need to take extra care to examine their own socialization and address potential areas of countertransference (Wester, 2008). As demonstrated, many sets of religious beliefs, as well as overall popular culture, stress the validity of heterosexuality and demonize homosexuality with respect to masculinity. Counseling psychologists are socialized into this environment, and need to address their beliefs to be able to work with gay and bisexual men without reinforcing these misconceptions about the intersection of masculinity and sexuality. It is important for individual counselors to engage in self-reflection to recognize how they resonate with factors proven to predict homonegative attitudes or behaviors; factors such as right-wing authoritarianism and entitlement. Research like the current study is needed to continue to uncover factors that can inhibit the working alliance between counselors and clients who are gay or bisexual men.

### **Intervention Implications**

Although this was not a study of sexual prejudice intervention, tremendously negative social impacts of still-widespread sexually prejudicial attitudes necessitate that no study of sexual prejudice conclude without consideration of potential implications for interventions (Miller, et al., 2012). Based on these results, organizational, group, and individual interventions aiming to reduce anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors could focus limited time and resources specifically on modifying entitlement and authoritarianism and could also attend to authoritarianism and dominance orientation to increase lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors. Evaluating the extent to which interventions that reduce attitudinal variables also decrease anti-gay and

lesbian attitudes and lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors and increase gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors would serve to continue testing the directionality of relations examined in the present study.

Results from the present study suggest that intervention programming and prevention studies should aim to diminish sexual prejudice and stereotypic attitudes members of sexual minority groups. Potential points of intervention for such work include the societal (e.g., federal laws, economics), institutional (e.g., school, workplace, military, media), and individual levels (e.g., person, small group) (Vincent, et al., 2011). For example, one societal-level approach that has received considerable attention is social marketing, which is defined as “the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audience to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part” (Andreasen, 1994, p. 110). Rochlen and Hoyer (2005) discussed the use of social marketing strategies to reach men, such as first-person testimonials, epidemiological and statistical data to inform their sense of normative behavior, and delivery of social messages through radio, billboards, televisions, and brochures. These results suggest that social marketing campaigns that employ these strategies could reduce sexually prejudiced attitudes by including social messages that report these beliefs as normative for men.

At the individual level, substantial research literature (e.g., see Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000) indicates that intergroup bias may be attenuated by increasing structured interactions between in-group (e.g., heterosexual men) and out-group members (e.g., gay men). Indeed, research has consistently demonstrated that individuals who

report knowing someone who is gay report lower levels of sexual prejudice (Herek & Capitanio, 1996). Diversity training interventions are examples of individual-level interventions based on intergroup contact theory. These interventions may be adapted to address norms of sexuality, such as by challenging stereotypes of gay men and lesbian women and incorporating role-play interactions with gay men and lesbian women (Parrott & Miller, 2009). Given that heterosexist norms are propagated through various social institutions, diversity-training interventions must be supported by the institutions in which they take place (e.g., schools, workplaces). For instance, McNaught (1993) developed a diversity training workshop that is designed to increase understanding of issues related to sexual orientation in the workplace. Role-play or actual interactions with gay men and lesbian women to accomplish specific tasks could be included into this approach. Of course, research is clearly needed to design and evaluate the effect of such interventions. Nevertheless, the present findings support the development and evaluation of interventions that address entitlement, authoritarianism, and dominance orientation.

Recent research focused on sexual prejudice showed promise that it too can be malleable. For example, in Europe modernization has played a key role in social acceptance of homosexuality (Stulhofer & Rimac, 2009), and research has demonstrated that even automatic prejudicial attitudes and behaviors can be reduced by activating egalitarian beliefs (Fiske, Harris, Lee, & Russell, 2009).

## **Conclusion**

Despite the limitations and needed directions for future research, the present study can inform future research and intervention efforts that aim to reduce anti-gay and lesbian

attitudes and behaviors. Overall, findings of this study (1) indicate the importance of relations of entitlement, right-wing authoritarianism, and intrinsic religious orientation with anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors for heterosexual-identified college men; (2) raise questions about the relative importance of social dominance orientation and conformity to masculine gender norms in the prediction of negative attitudes and behaviors towards lesbian women and gay men; (3) provide support for a unique relationship between anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and measures of behavior, positively to gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors, and negatively with gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors; and (4) buttress anti-lesbian and gay attitudes as a critical intermediate variable linking entitlement, authoritarianism, and intrinsic religiosity to behavior towards lesbian women and gay men.

Collectively, these findings highlight the importance of examining critical psychosocial factors that influence prejudice towards gay men and lesbian women. Future research may benefit by examining the role of social structures in the perpetration and psychology of aggression toward gay men and lesbians and other stigmatized groups. The present findings provide the basis for this kind of research and interventions and can ultimately inform efforts to reduce anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and gay- and lesbian-rejecting behaviors and to increase lesbian- and gay-affirming behavior

# Appendix

## Appendix A

### Informed Consent Form/Cover Letter

The purpose of this study is to examine people's attitudes about several contemporary social issues. As a participant in this study, you will be asked to answer questions about your attitudes toward certain social groups and policies. The information will help researchers understand contemporary attitudes toward social and governmental issues. You may perceive that some of the questions are provocative in nature. Please note that we are just trying to assess different people's attitudes. This information will only be available to the researchers and information will be kept completely confidential. Researchers must store study responses for three years. Any presentation or publication of this data will be in group form only. Answering the questions on this questionnaire will take approximately 30 to 40 minutes to complete.

The information you provide will be collected anonymously and your response will be kept confidential as your name will not be requested. At the bottom of this page, you will be asked to provide your UT ID to ensure that you are credited for your participation. Please **do not** put your name on the survey. If you are using a public computer to complete the survey, it is recommended that you clear the internet browser history and remove any individual internet cookies so that your responses will not be accessed by a different user. Your participation is strictly voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. If you do not feel comfortable participating in this study, you also have the opportunity to participate in an alternate assignment. The alternate assignment will fulfill the same credits required for your class credit. Completion of the survey indicates your voluntary consent to participate in this study and that you are at least 18 years old. Please address any questions or concerns that you have to Andrew L. Adelman at [adelman.study@gmail.com](mailto:adelman.study@gmail.com).

Completion of the survey indicates you have read the information above and any questions that you asked have been answered to your satisfaction. Please print a copy of this consent form for your records, or contact the study coordinator for a hard copy. This study has been reviewed and approved by The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board. If you have questions about your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact - anonymously, if you wish - the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at [orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

If you agree to participate please enter your UT ID in the space below and then press the arrow button at the bottom right of the screen. If you choose not to participate, just exit the study. Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated. Thank you for your time.

**For further information, please contact:**

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**Participant UT ID:** \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B

### Debrief Template

Thank you for participating in this study. In psychology, it is sometimes necessary to conceal our hypotheses because when people know what is being studied they often alter their responses. However, I do not want you to leave misinformed, so I will now tell you what I was actually studying.

The purpose of this study is to examine psychological factors that might be linked with anti-gay and lesbian attitudes and behaviors in heterosexual men. I am considering factors such as level of entitlement, obedience to authority, conformity to masculine norms, and one's religious orientation. Anti-gay and lesbian attitudes will also be tested to see whether they underlie associations of these variables with lesbian and gay rejecting behaviors or lack of affirming behaviors.

Understanding factors that shape negative attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian and gay individuals is critical for promoting individual and collective well-being and social justice. Investigating and preventing anti-lesbian and gay attitudes and behaviors are particularly important given the potential negative consequences of such attitudes and behaviors for social welfare, interpersonal relations, and gay and lesbian persons' well-being.

I apologize that I could not reveal the true nature of the study to you up front, but hope you can see why it was necessary to keep this information from you. When people know exactly what the researcher is studying, they often change their behavior, thus making their responses unusable for drawing conclusions about human nature and experiences.

**For this reason, I ask that you please not discuss this study with others who might participate anytime in the next year. Thank you for your cooperation.**

If you have experienced distress as a result of your participation in this study, please feel free to set up an appointment with one of UT's licensed psychologists or counselors. The UT Counseling and Mental Health Center is located on the fifth floor of Student Services Building (SSB), and they can be reached at (512) 471-3515 or <http://cmhc.utexas.edu>

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board (512) 471-8871, [orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

Please again accept our appreciation for your participation in this study.

If you have any questions about this study, feel free to contact the researcher Andrew Adelman at 949-400-6535 or [adelman.study@gmail.com](mailto:adelman.study@gmail.com). Thank you for your help today.

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Signature of Participant or Participant #

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Date

## Appendix C

### The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men

Scale Items for Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale items 1-10 comprise the ATL subscale; items 11-20 constitute the ATG subscale. Items are rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *disagree strongly* to 5 = *agree strongly*. Scoring is reversed for the starred (\*) items.

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes.	1	2	3	4	5
3. State laws regarding private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.*	1	2	3	4	5
4. Female homosexuality is a sin.	1	2	3	4	5
5. The growing number of lesbians indicate a decline in American morals.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.*	1	2	3	4	5
7. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Lesbians are sick.	1	2	3	4	5
10. A woman's homosexuality should <i>not</i> be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.*	1	2	3	4	5
11. Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.*	1	2	3	4	5
12. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Male homosexuals should <i>not</i> be allowed to teach in school.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Male homosexuality is a perversion.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.*	1	2	3	4	5
16. If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.	1	2	3	4	5

17. I would <i>not</i> be too upset if I learned that my son was a homosexual.*	1	2	3	4	5
18. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
19. The idea of male homosexual marriages seems ridiculous to me.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that show <i>not</i> be condemned.*	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix D

### The Self-Report of Behavior Scale - Revised

The Self-Report of Behavior Scale-Revised questionnaire is designed to examine which of the following statements most closely describes one's behavior during past encounters with people thought to be homosexuals. The SRBS-R is scored by totaling the number of points endorsed on all items (Never = 1; Rarely = 2; Occasionally = 3; Frequently = 4; Always = 5), yielding a range from 20 to 100 total points. The higher the score, the more negative the attitudes toward homosexuals.

1. I have spread negative talk about someone because I suspected that he or she was gay.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I have participated in playing jokes on someone because I suspected that he or she was gay.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I have changed roommates and/or rooms because I suspected my roommate was gay.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I have warned people who I thought were gay and who were a little too friendly with me to keep away from me.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have attended anti-gay protests.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I have been rude to someone because I thought he or she was gay.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I have changed seat locations because I suspected the person sitting next to me was gay.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I have had to force myself to keep from hitting someone because he or she was gay and very near me.	1	2	3	4	5
9. When someone I thought to be gay has walked toward me as if to start a conversation, I have deliberately changed directions and walked away to avoid him or her.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I have stared at a gay person in such a manner as to convey to him or her my disapproval of his or her being too close to me.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I have been with a group in which one (or more) person(s) yelled insulting comments to a gay person or group of gay people.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I have changed my normal behavior in a restroom because a person I believed to be gay was in there at the same time.	1	2	3	4	5
13. When a gay person has checked me out, I have verbally threatened him or her.	1	2	3	4	5

14. I have participated in damaging someone's property because he or she was gay.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I have physically hit or pushed someone I thought was gay because he or she brushed his or her body against me when passing by.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Within the past few months, I have told a joke that made fun of gay people.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I have gotten into a physical fight with a gay person because I thought he or she has been making moves on me.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I have refused to work on school and/or work projects with a partner I thought was gay.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I have written graffiti about gay people or homosexuality.	1	2	3	4	5
20. When a gay person has been near me, I have moved away to put more distance between us.	1	2	3	4	5

The following items are not part of the original SRBS-R, and were added for the purposes of this study.

21. I have forwarded jokes online that have made fun of gay people.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I have supported organizations that lobby against gay marriage or for constitutional amendments protecting heterosexual marriage.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I have used the word gay as an insult or put down.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I have called someone a faggot or dyke, either as an insult or as a joke.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I have made it clear through my behavior that gays are unwelcome in my social network.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I have displayed T-shirts, bumper stickers, or other paraphernalia that makes fun of gay people.	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix E

### Behaviors Toward Homosexuals Scale – Helping Behaviors Subscale

The 6 items below constitute the Helping Behaviors Subscale taken from the full 21-item Behaviors Toward Homosexuals Scale. The BTH asks respondents to explain how often they engaged in gay- and lesbian-affirming behaviors in the past year (*never, 1–2 times, 3–4 times, 5 or more times*). The score is calculated by the frequency of lesbian and gay affirming, or helping behaviors.

How often in the past year have you:

1. Challenged an anti-gay joke or remark?
2. Told someone you were offended by their use of terms like fag, queer, etc.?
3. Defended a person who was being harassed or threatened for being gay?
4. Invited a gay person to go to coffee or out to eat?
5. Made friends with a person you thought was gay?
6. Invited a gay person to your living space?

## Appendix F

### The Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale

Each item is responded to on a nine-point scale, ranging from very strongly disagree (-4) to very strongly agree (4). Scoring is reversed for the starred (\*) items.

1. Our country will be great if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the “rotten apples” who are ruining everything.
2. It is wonderful that young people can protest anything they don't like, and act however they wish nowadays.\*
3. It is better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion, than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.
4. People should pay *less* attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.\*
5. What our country *really* needs, instead of more “civil rights,” is a good stiff dose of law and order.
6. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.
7. The sooner we get rid of the traditional family structure, where the father is the head of the family and the children are taught to obey authority automatically, the better. The old-fashioned way has a lot of wrong with it.\*
8. There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse.\*
9. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public discourse all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.
10. There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody's being a homosexual.\*
11. It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants.\*
12. Obedience is the most important virtue children should learn.
13. There is no “one right way” to live your life. Everybody has to create his *own* way.\*

14. Once our government leaders condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.
15. Government, judges and the police should never be allowed to censor books.\*
16. Some of the worst people in our country nowadays are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders, and the normal way things are supposed to be done.
17. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up.
18. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.\*
19. Some young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they get older they ought to become more mature and forget such things.
20. There is nothing really wrong with a lot of the things people call “sins.”\*
21. Everyone should have his own life-style, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes him different from everyone else.\*
22. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.
23. Authorities such as parents and our national leaders generally turn out to be right about things, and the radicals and protestors are almost always wrong.
24. A lot of our rules regarding modesty and sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow.\*
25. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.\*
26. The *real* keys to the “good life” are obedience, discipline, and sticking to the straight and narrow.
27. We should treat protestors and radicals with open arms and open minds, since new ideas are the lifeblood of progressive change.\*
28. What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path.
29. Students must be taught to challenge their parents’ ways, confront the authorities, and criticize the traditions of our society.\*
30. One reason we have so many troublemakers in our society nowadays is that parents and other authorities have forgotten that good old-fashioned physical punishments is still one of the best ways to make people behave properly.

## Appendix G

### The Religious Orientation Scale - Revised

Responses for the revised scale are given on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *strongly agree* to 7 = *strongly disagree*. Scoring is reversed for the starred (\*) items.

	1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5-----	6-----	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Slightly Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
1. I enjoy reading about my religion.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I go to church because it helps me to make friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. It doesn't matter much what I believe so long as I am good.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I have often had a strong sense of God's presence.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I pray mainly to get relief and protection.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I try hard to live all my life according to my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Prayer is for peace and happiness.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Although I am religious, I don't let it affect my daily life.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. I go to church mostly to spend time with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. My whole approach to life is based on my religion.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Although I believe in my religion, many other things are important in my life.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Appendix H

### The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory

The following pages contain a series of statements about how people might think, feel or behave. The statements are designed to measure attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with both traditional and non-traditional masculine gender roles. **Thinking about your own actions, feelings and beliefs**, please indicate how much **you personally agree or disagree with each statement** by circling SD for "Strongly Disagree", D for "Disagree", A for "Agree", or SA for "Strongly agree" to the left of the statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering. Scoring is reversed for the starred (\*) items.

1. It is best to keep your emotions hidden	SD	D	A	SA
2. In general, I will do anything to win	SD	D	A	SA
3. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners	SD	D	A	SA
4. If there is going to be violence, I find a way to avoid it*	SD	D	A	SA
5. It is important to me that people think I am heterosexual	SD	D	A	SA
6. In general, I must get my way	SD	D	A	SA
7. Trying to be important is the greatest waste of time*	SD	D	A	SA
8. I am often absorbed in my work	SD	D	A	SA
9. I will only be satisfied when women are equal to men*	SD	D	A	SA
10. I hate asking for help	SD	D	A	SA
11. Taking dangerous risks helps me to prove myself	SD	D	A	SA
12. In general, I do not expend a lot of energy trying to win at things*	SD	D	A	SA
13. An emotional bond with a partner is the best part of sex*	SD	D	A	SA
14. I should take every opportunity to show my feelings*	SD	D	A	SA
15. I believe that violence is never justified*	SD	D	A	SA
16. Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing*	SD	D	A	SA
17. In general, I do not like risky situations*	SD	D	A	SA
18. I should be in charge	SD	D	A	SA
19. Feelings are important to show*	SD	D	A	SA
20. I feel miserable when work occupies all my attention*	SD	D	A	SA
21. I feel best about my relationships with women when we are equals*	SD	D	A	SA
22. Winning is not my first priority*	SD	D	A	SA
23. I make sure that people think I am heterosexual	SD	D	A	SA
24. I enjoy taking risks	SD	D	A	SA
25. I am disgusted by any kind of violence*	SD	D	A	SA
26. I would hate to be important*	SD	D	A	SA
27. I love to explore my feelings with others*	SD	D	A	SA
28. If I could, I would date a lot of different people	SD	D	A	SA
29. I ask for help when I need it*	SD	D	A	SA

30. My work is the most important part of my life	SD	D	A	SA
31. Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing	SD	D	A	SA
32. I never take chances*	SD	D	A	SA
33. I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship*	SD	D	A	SA
34. I like fighting	SD	D	A	SA
35. I treat women as equals*	SD	D	A	SA
36. I bring up my feelings when talking to others*	SD	D	A	SA
37. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA
38. I only get romantically involved with one person*	SD	D	A	SA
39. I don't mind losing*	SD	D	A	SA
40. I take risks	SD	D	A	SA
41. I never do things to be an important person*	SD	D	A	SA
42. It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay*	SD	D	A	SA
43. I never share my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
44. Sometimes violent action is necessary	SD	D	A	SA
45. Asking for help is a sign of failure	SD	D	A	SA
46. In general, I control the women in my life	SD	D	A	SA
47. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners	SD	D	A	SA
48. It is important for me to win	SD	D	A	SA
49. I don't like giving all my attention to work*	SD	D	A	SA
50. I feel uncomfortable when others see me as important*	SD	D	A	SA
51. It would be awful if people thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA
52. I like to talk about my feelings*	SD	D	A	SA
53. I never ask for help	SD	D	A	SA
54. More often than not, losing does not bother me*	SD	D	A	SA
55. It is foolish to take risks*	SD	D	A	SA
56. Work is not the most important thing in my life*	SD	D	A	SA
57. Men and women should respect each other as equals*	SD	D	A	SA
58. Long term relationships are better than casual sexual encounters*	SD	D	A	SA
59. Having status is not very important to me*	SD	D	A	SA
60. I frequently put myself in risky situations	SD	D	A	SA
61. Women should be subservient to men	SD	D	A	SA
62. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary	SD	D	A	SA
63. I like having gay friends*	SD	D	A	SA
64. I feel good when work is my first priority	SD	D	A	SA
65. I tend to keep my feelings to myself	SD	D	A	SA
66. Emotional involvement should be avoided when having sex	SD	D	A	SA
67. Winning is not important to me*	SD	D	A	SA
68. Violence is almost never justified*	SD	D	A	SA
69. I am comfortable trying to get my way	SD	D	A	SA
70. I am happiest when I'm risking danger	SD	D	A	SA
71. Men should not have power over women*	SD	D	A	SA
72. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time	SD	D	A	SA
73. I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA

74. I am not ashamed to ask for help*	SD	D	A	SA
75. The best feeling in the world comes from winning	SD	D	A	SA
76. Work comes first	SD	D	A	SA
77. I tend to share my feelings*	SD	D	A	SA
78. I like emotional involvement in a romantic relationship*	SD	D	A	SA
79. No matter what the situation I would never act violently*	SD	D	A	SA
80. If someone thought I was gay, I would not argue with them about it*	SD	D	A	SA
81. Things tend to be better when men are in charge	SD	D	A	SA
82. I prefer to be safe and careful*	SD	D	A	SA
83. A person shouldn't get tied down to dating just one person	SD	D	A	SA
84. I tend to invest my energy in things other than work*	SD	D	A	SA
85. It bothers me when I have to ask for help	SD	D	A	SA
86. I love it when men are in charge of women	SD	D	A	SA
87. It feels good to be important	SD	D	A	SA
88. I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
89. I work hard to win	SD	D	A	SA
90. I would only be satisfied with sex if there was an emotional bond*	SD	D	A	SA
91. I try to avoid being perceived as gay	SD	D	A	SA
92. I hate any kind of risk*	SD	D	A	SA
93. I prefer to stay unemotional	SD	D	A	SA
94. I make sure people do as I say	SD	D	A	SA

## Appendix I

### The Social Dominance Orientation Scale

Which of the following objects or statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards? Circle the number which represents the degree of your positive or negative feeling. Scoring is reversed for the starred (\*) items.

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative	Negative			Slightly Negative	Neither Positive Nor Negative	Slightly Positive	Positive	Very Positive
1. Some groups of people are just inferior to other groups.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer ... problems.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. It would be good if groups were equal.*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Group equality should be our ideal.*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Increased social equality is beneficial to society.*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. No one group should dominate society.*		1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Appendix J

### The Narcissistic Personality Inventory – Exploitive/Entitlement Subscale

The 11 items below constitute the Exploitive/Entitlement Subscale taken from the full 40-item Narcissistic Personality Inventory. The NPI uses a forced-choice format with a narcissistic and a nonnarcissistic response for each item. The score is calculated by the number of narcissistic responses selected. Starred items (\*) indicate narcissistic responses.

1. A I have a natural talent for influencing people.\*  
B I am not good at influencing people.
2. A I can usually talk my way out of anything.\*  
B I try to accept the consequences of my behavior.
3. A I find it easy to manipulate people.\*  
B I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people.
4. A I insist upon getting the respect that is due me.\*  
B I usually get the respect that I deserve.
5. A I can read people like a book.\*  
B People are sometimes hard to understand.
6. A I expect a great deal from other people.\*  
B I like to do things for other people.
7. A I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve.\*  
B I take my satisfactions as they come.
8. A I have a strong will to power.\*  
B Power for its own sake doesn't interest me.
9. A People sometimes believe what I tell them.  
B I can make anybody believe anything I want them to.\*
10. A I get upset when people don't notice how I look when I go out in public.\*  
B I don't mind blending into the crowd when I go out in public.
11. A I am more capable than other people.\*  
B There is a lot that I can learn from other people.

## Appendix K

### The Psychological Entitlement Scale

Responses for the revised scale are given on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*. Scoring is reversed for the starred (\*) items.

1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5-----	6-----	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I honestly feel I'm more deserving than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Great things should come to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. If I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the <i>first</i> lifeboat!	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I demand the best because I'm worth it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I do not necessarily deserve special treatment.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I deserve special treatment in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. People like me deserve an extra break now and then.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Things should go my way.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I feel entitled to more of everything.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Appendix L

### The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding – Impression Management Subscale

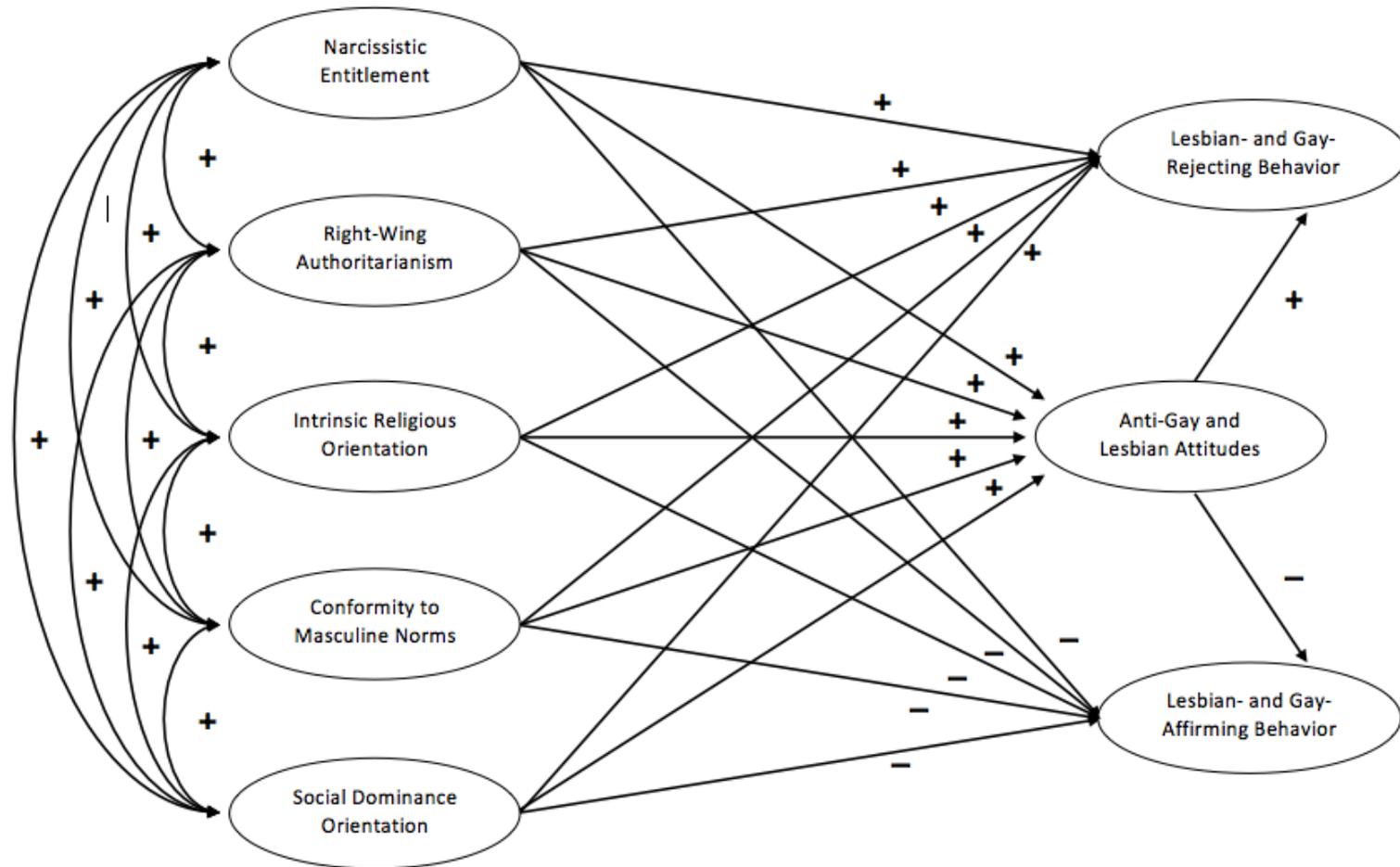
The 20 items below constitute the Impression Management Subscale taken from the full 40-item Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding. Each item of the BIDR uses a seven-point scale, ranging from not true (1) to very true (7). Scoring is reversed for the starred (\*) items.

		Not True			Somewhat True			Very True
1. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2. I never cover up my mistakes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of ...someone.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4. I never swear.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6. I always obey laws, even if I'm unlikely to get caught.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7. I have said something bad about a friend behind his/her back.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8. When I hear people talking privately I avoid listening.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9. I have received too much change from a salesperson without ...telling him or her.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10. I always declare everything at customs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11. When I was young I sometimes stole things.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

12. I have never dropped litter on the street.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. I never read sexy books or magazines.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. I have done things that I don't tell other people about.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. I never take things that don't belong to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. I have taken sick-leave from work or school even though I ... wasn't really sick.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. I have never damaged a library book or store merchandise without reporting it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. I have some pretty awful habits.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. I don't gossip about other people's business.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

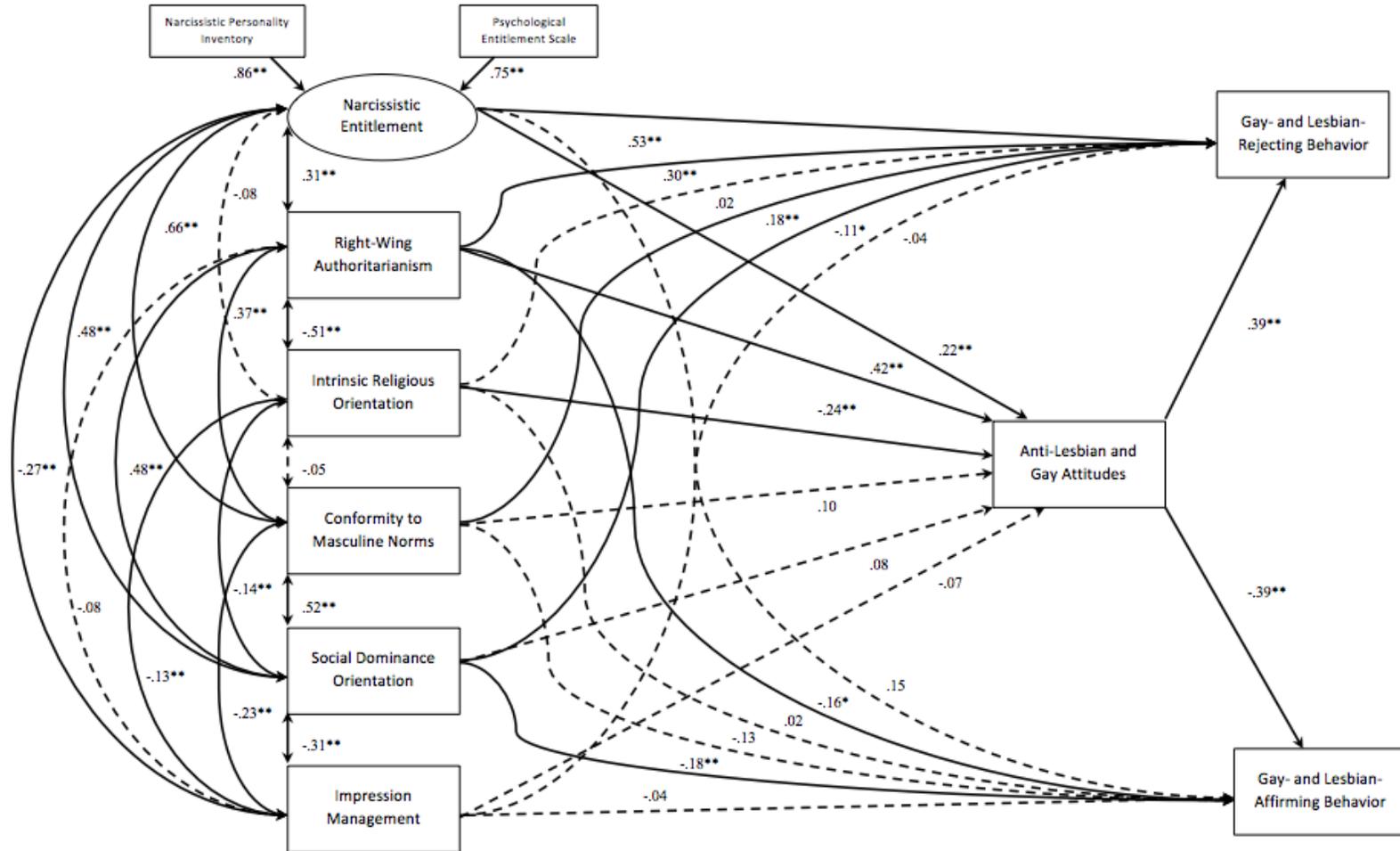
## Appendix M

Hypothesized path model of relations and valences among variables of interest for lesbian- and gay rejecting and affirming behaviors through Anti-Gay and Lesbian Attitudes



## Appendix N

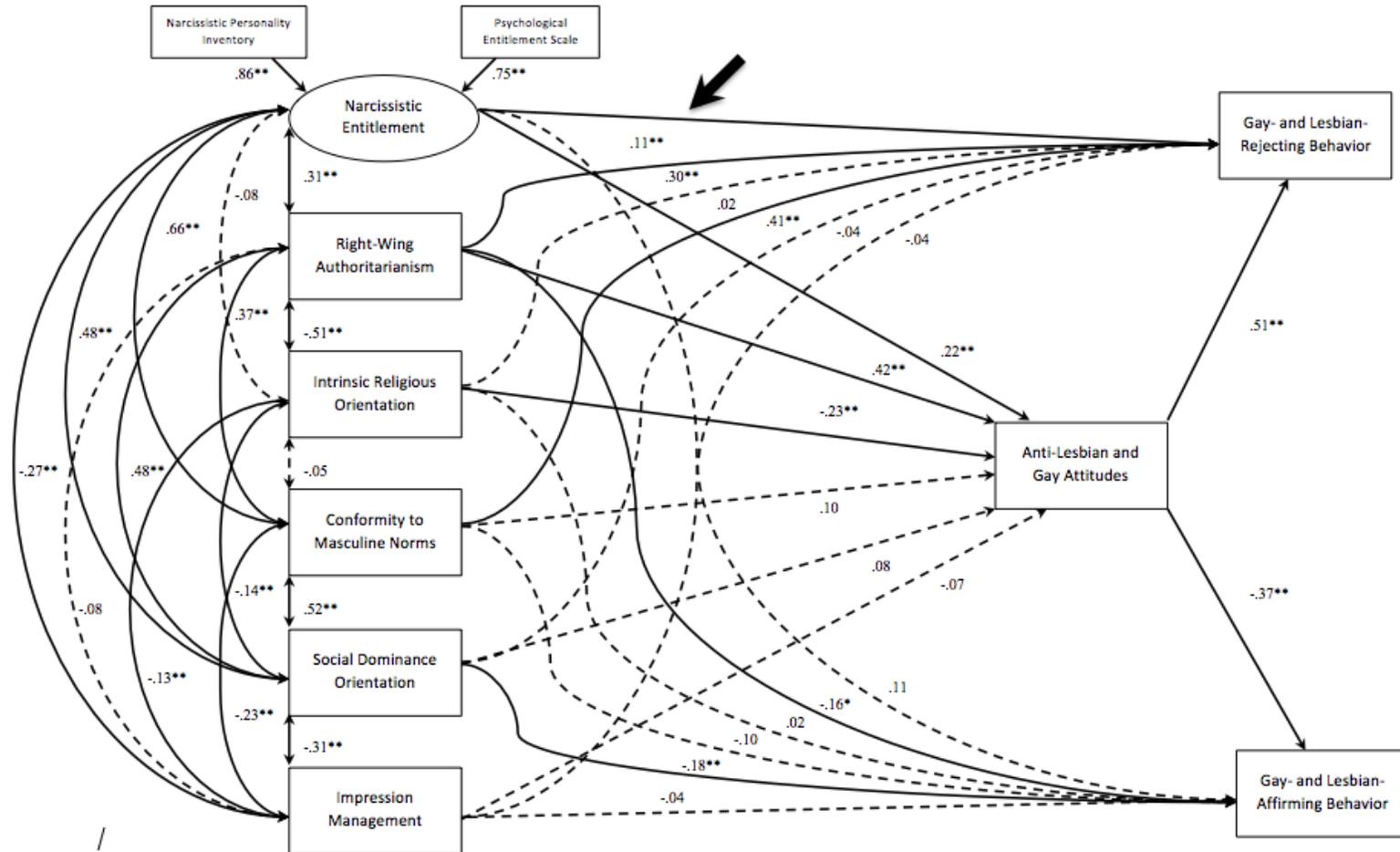
Structural model of relations among variables of interest for lesbian- and gay-rejecting and affirming behaviors.



Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Appendix O

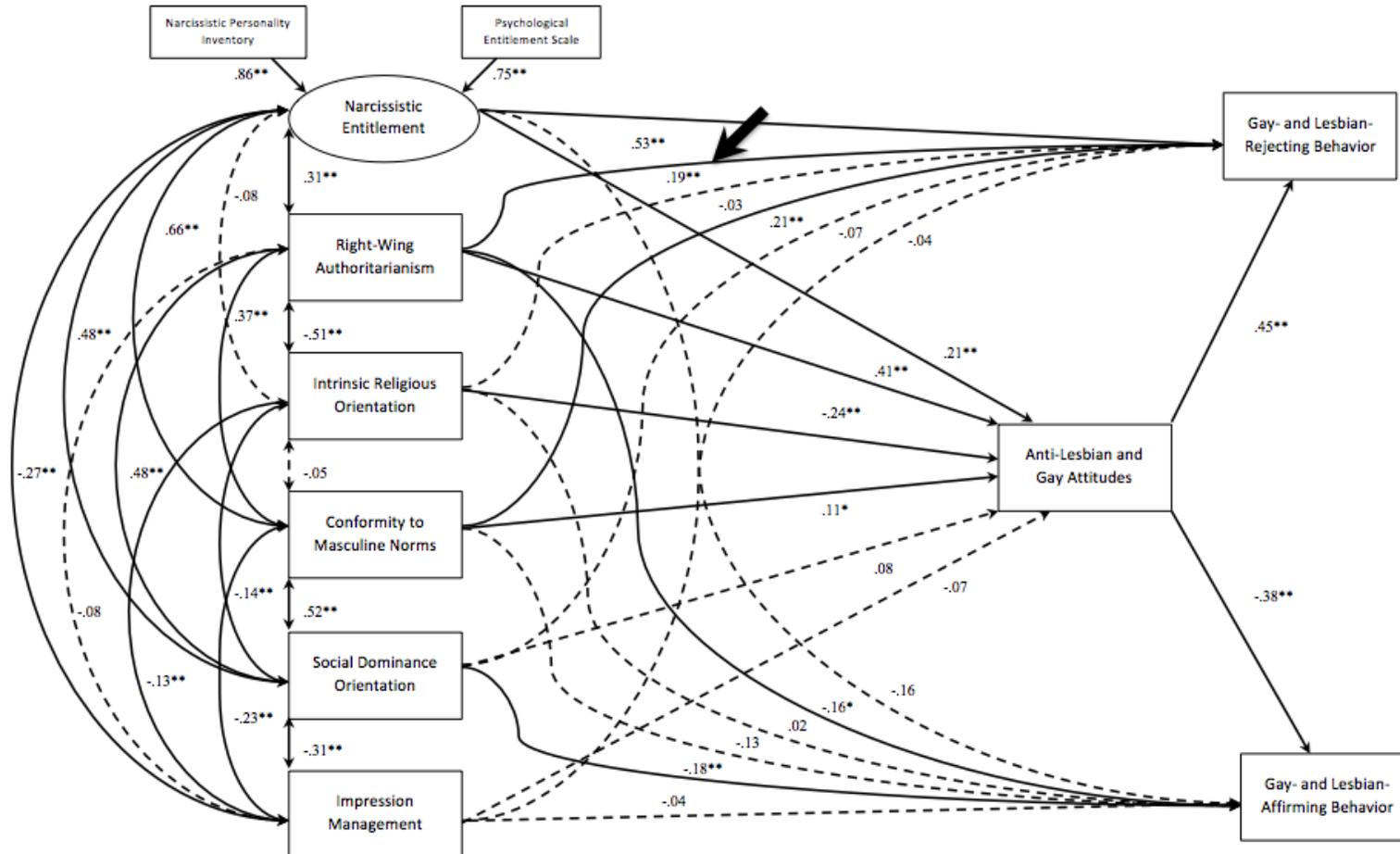
Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of entitlement with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis).



Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Appendix P

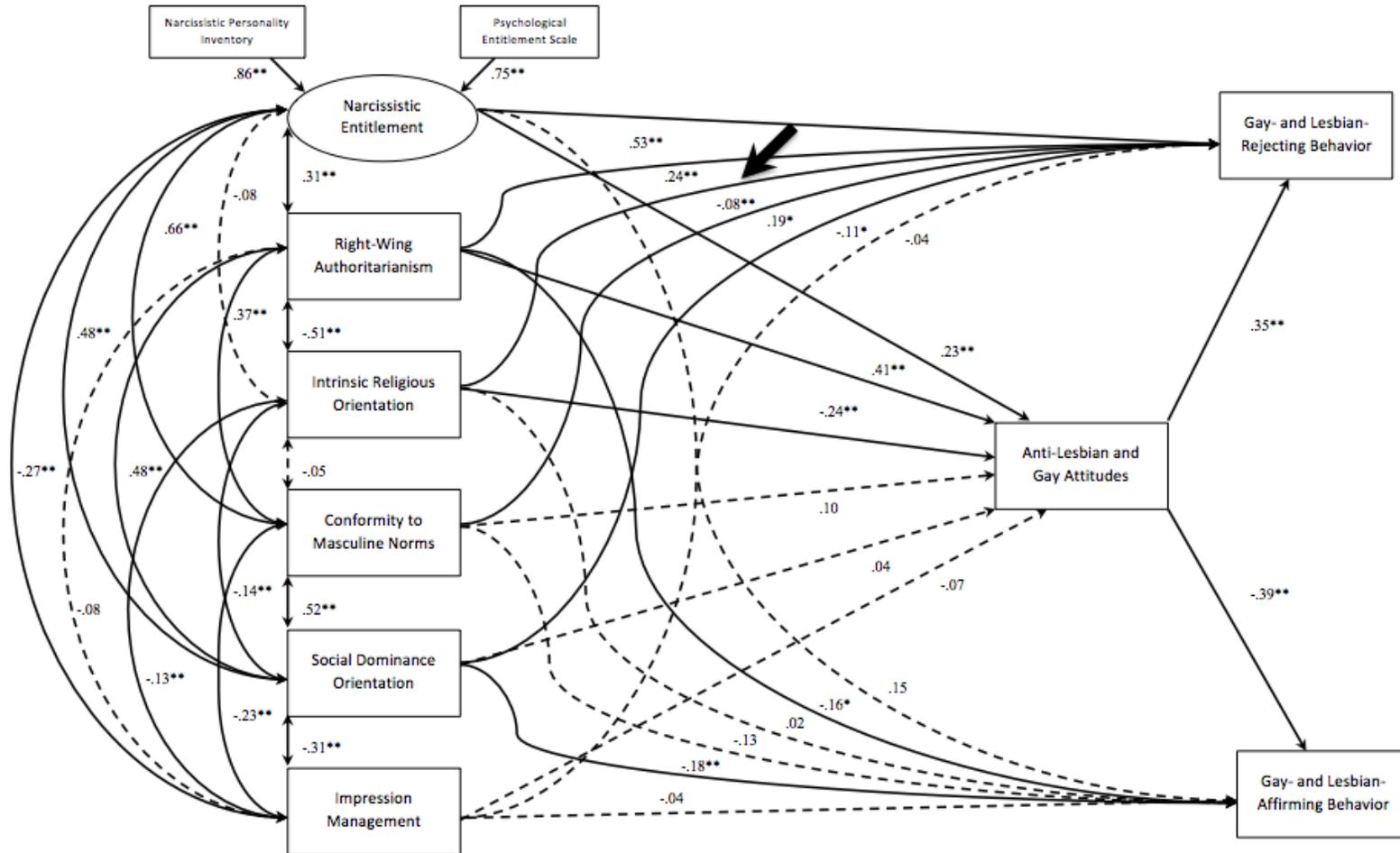
Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of RWA with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis).



Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Appendix Q

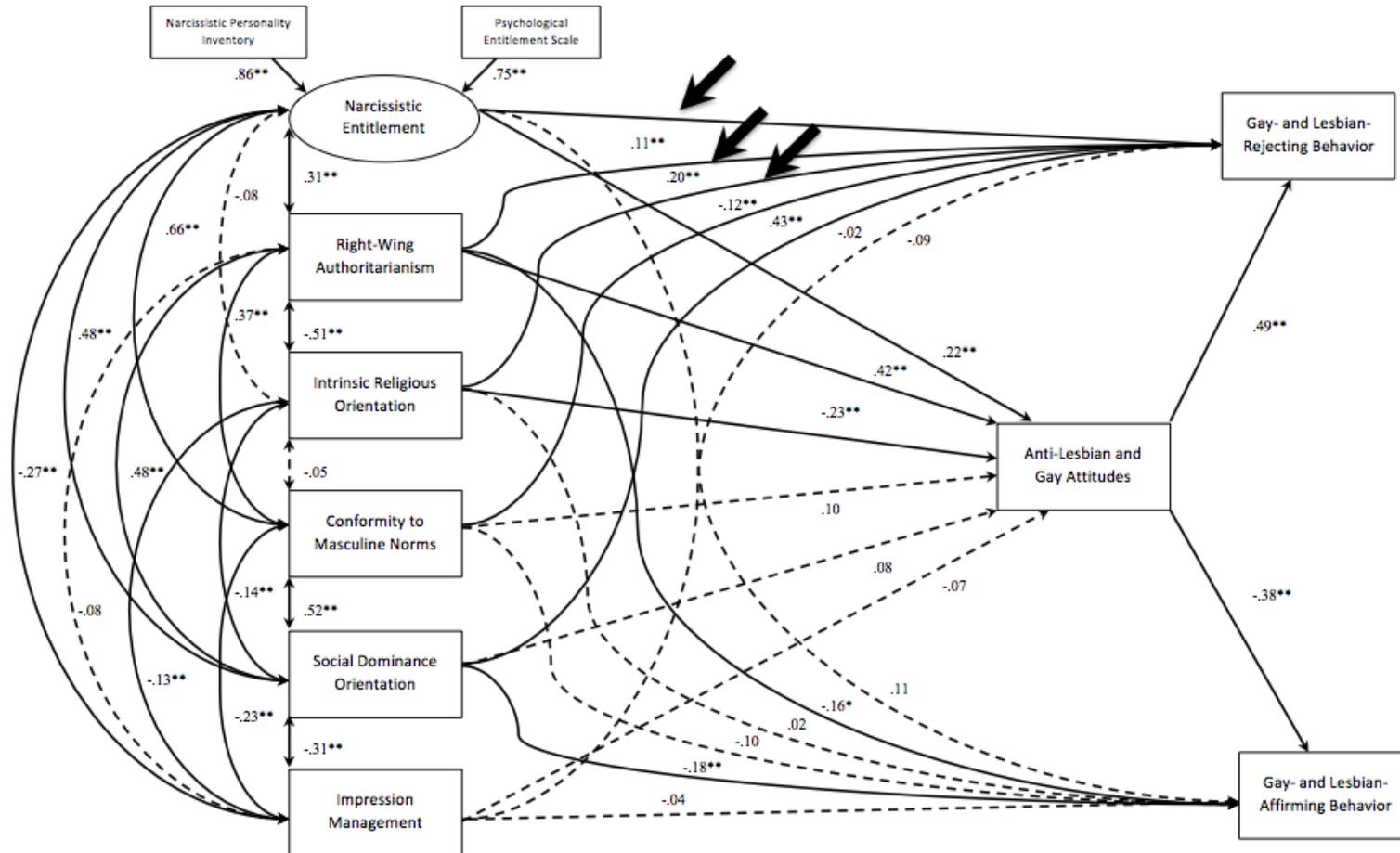
Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis).



Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Appendix R

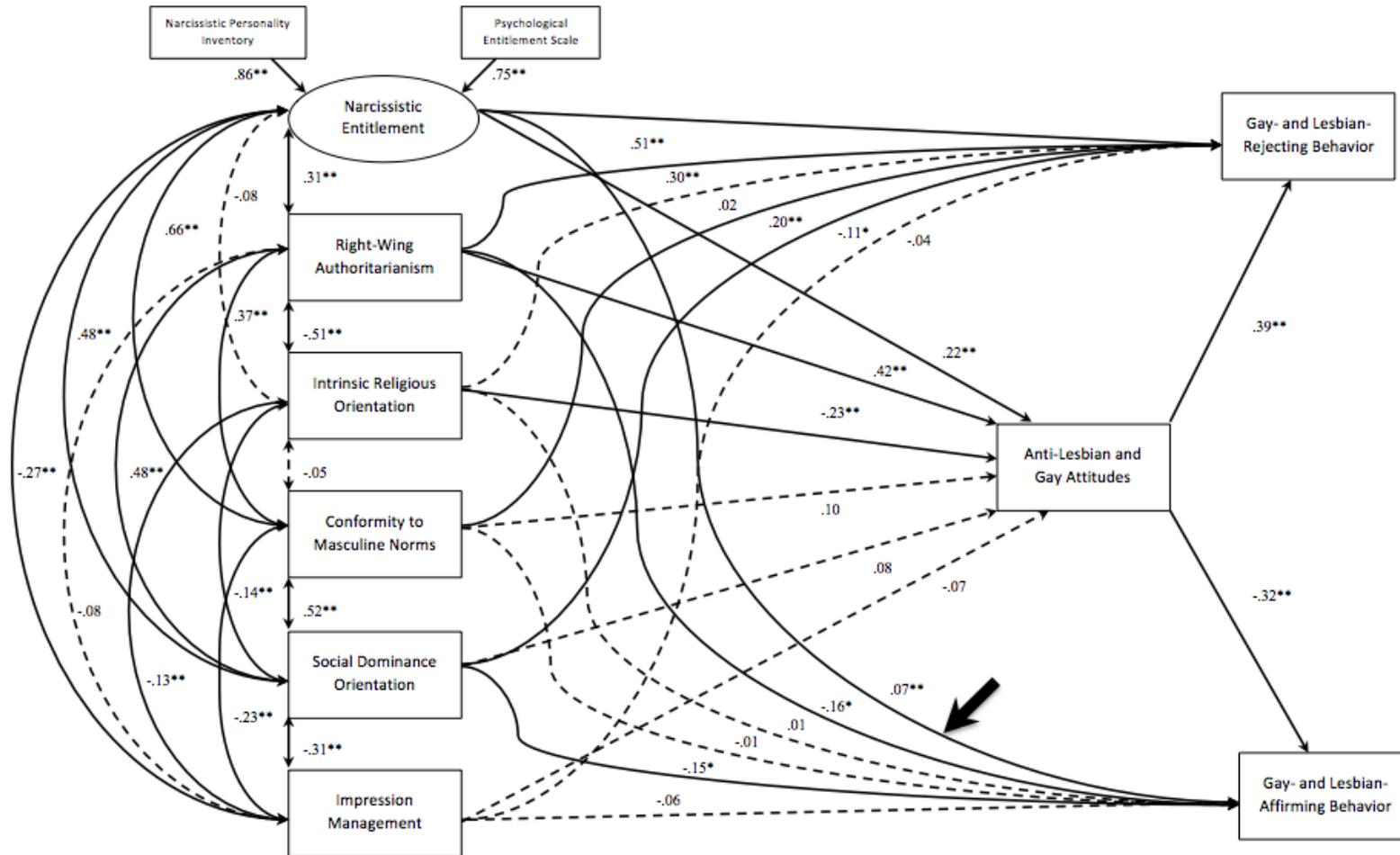
Structural model of relations in which the direct effects of entitlement, RWA, and intrinsic religiosity with lesbian- and gay-rejecting behaviors were constrained to zero (i.e. the direct paths indicated were not included in the model analysis).



Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Appendix S

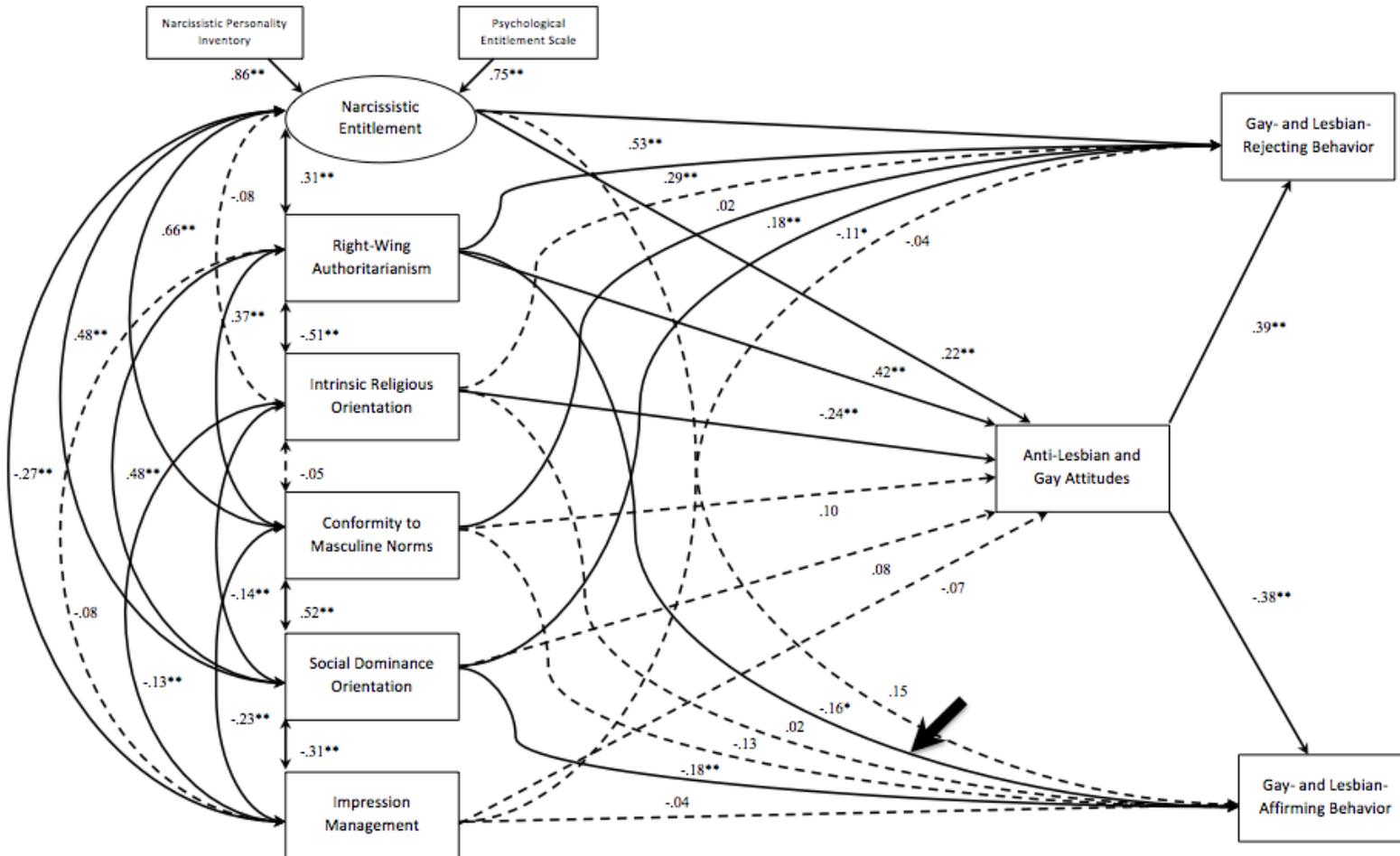
Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of entitlement with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis).



Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Appendix T

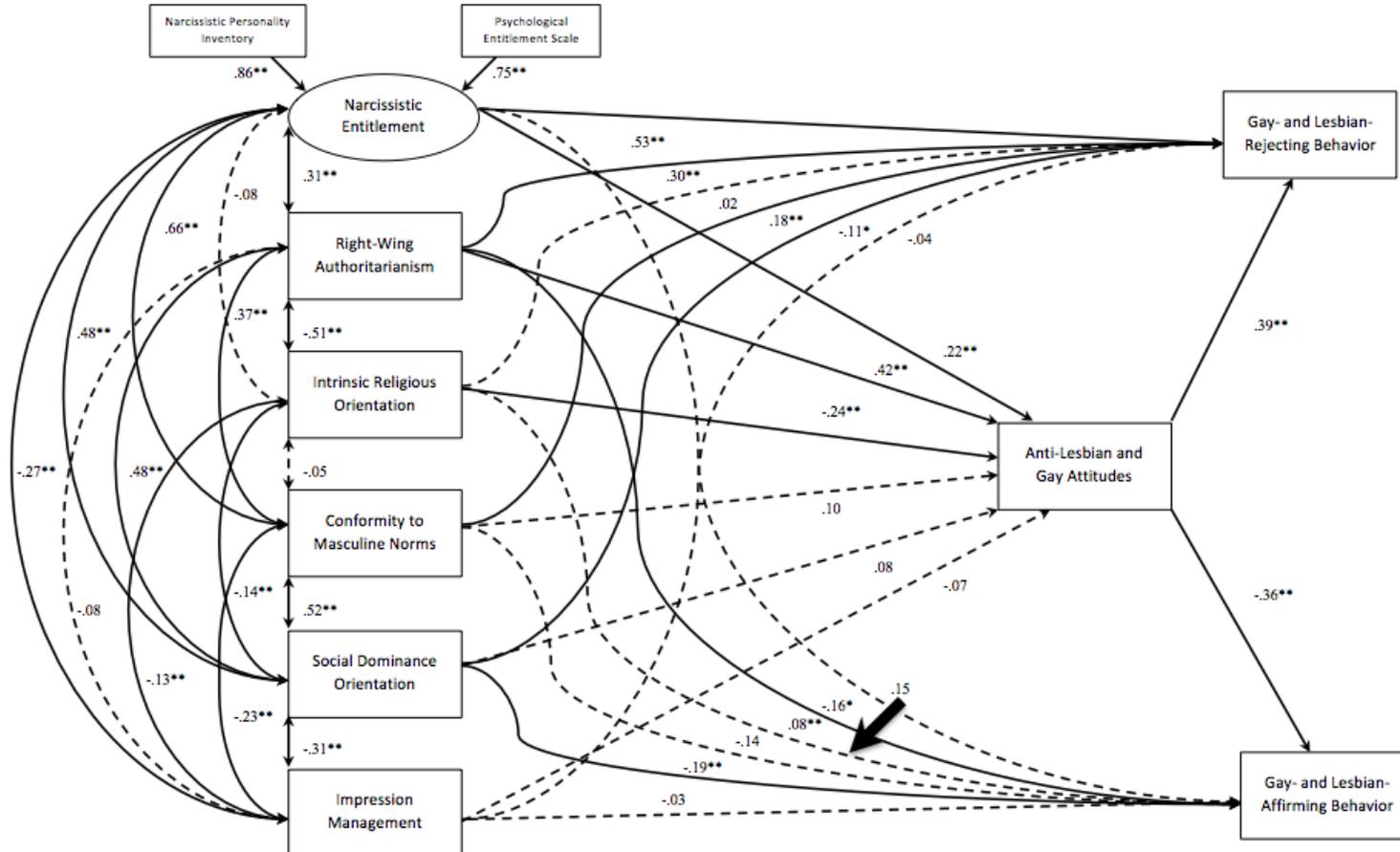
Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of RWA with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis).



Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Appendix U

Structural model of relations in which the direct effect of intrinsic religious orientation with lesbian- and gay-affirming behaviors was constrained to zero (i.e. the direct path indicated was not included in the model analysis).



Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

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